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F. D. R. Is In

THE Roosevelt victory was no surprise. In spite of Republican claims—Mr. Brownell in his final official statement predicted Dewey's election by a "tidal sweep"—all independent tests showed the rapid crystallizing of Roosevelt sentiment during the past few weeks. Our own Campaign Roundup on October 21 reflected this unmistakable trend. The "pivotal states" so dear to the hearts of the poll takers appear mostly to have decided for the President. As we go to press there are a good many indications of an Electoral College landslide.

But if the President's reelection was expected it was no less welcome. It ended a fight the outcome of which was so important that anxiety persisted in the face of all reassuring signs. The country clearly sensed the ominous significance of the choice before it. This was no ordinary election; a world was at stake. The *Nation* has been severely impartial in judging Mr. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, as our readers will agree; we have disagreed with and criticized both on many major issues. But we say with the assurance this record gives us, that the defeat of the President would have been an international calamity in this particular year. We felt reasonably confident it would not happen but none the less, realizing the many unpredictable elements in the campaign, we greeted the result with a sense of profound relief.

Perhaps this relief arose partly from an exercise we forced ourselves to undertake during the last week before election. As a form of campaign discipline we reread the *Nation* editorials during the Harding fight in 1920. The thing that struck us was not the extreme isolationism of the prophet of normalcy. Quite the contrary. It was rather his hearty, if vague, support of the idea of international cooperation. Though his election doomed the League, and killed Woodrow Wilson, his campaign was fought on the assumption that some sort of organization was needed and would, as a matter of course, be effected by a Republican administration. Then, as now, the emotional—which means political—demand for assurance that the country would not have to face a new world war was too strong to be ignored or denied by the Republican candidate.

Harding was elected; and there was no international cooperation; and there was another world war. But Thomas E. Dewey has been defeated and so we need not speculate on either the sincerity of his promises or the willingness of his party to allow him to keep them. We need only see to it that Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose sincerity about international cooperation is beyond any doubt, is not prevented from finishing the great job he has dedicated himself to for the past four years. We believe he will finish it. His victory, won in large measure on the issue of world organization, will give him immense strength. He has received the people's mandate in such unmistakable terms that even the most recalcitrant isolationist will hesitate to challenge it. The election returns have announced to the world that 1944 is not 1920.

The feeling of relief is not limited to the United States. It is a significant fact, as American correspondents abroad have reported, that the other nations awaited the election results with as anxious anticipation as we did. And the peoples of the democracies greeted them with the same intense satisfaction. Only the enemy countries and their fascist supporters hoped for the election of Mr. Dewey; and this was not because he endorsed their cause or their ideas of government—certainly he did not—but because he had arrayed behind him, and had never repudiated or rebuked, the most extreme isolationist and reactionary elements in his party. It was Mr. Dewey's misfortune—but it was also his fault—that he was backed by the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick axis. For this reason he was the candidate inevitably favored by our enemies. For this reason the democratic peoples of the world, whether they live under democratic regimes or dictatorships, cast their uncounted votes for F. D. R. There is little doubt that Mr. Dewey's election would have prolonged the war; whether justifiably or not it would have created the hope among our enemies that stiff resistance would result in easier terms, perhaps in a negotiated peace, the fear among our allies that victory would not mean security.

This danger has been averted. So has the great concern in other countries lest the present Administration's rather timid approaches toward international economic cooperation be abandoned altogether. The recovery of the world—and our own successful change-over to peacetime production—depends on the progressive leveling of trade barriers, the establishment of international agreements to mitigate the ferocity of national competition, the encouragement of industrial development in backward regions. Nothing in either the Republican record or its present program offered the smallest promise of such a policy. While the efforts initiated by

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Roosevelt and Hull will have to be greatly stepped up if they are to avert the economic crises that lurk beyond the ending of the war contracts, at least they look in the right direction.

But the chief benefit of Dewey's defeat will be felt here at home. In terms of policy we can now expect the generous concern with human welfare that was demonstrated in the bad days after 1932. In view of the size and infinite complexity of the difficulties the end of the war will bring, we must be thankful to have as President a man who has piloted the country through one depression and whose social philosophy is liberal if not either radical or bold. The interesting preview of Mr. Roosevelt's probable policy during the period of readjustment already beginning, presented by I. F. Stone in this issue, offers reason for at least restrained optimism.

But at this moment of victory the negative reasons for rejoicing seem larger than the positive ones. With the impression of the campaign still hanging over us, our strongest feeling is one of joy at the nation's vigorous repudiation of the doctrine of fear and hate on which Governor Dewey based his campaign. The people of the United States have said that they do not believe the reelection of the President means control by Communists or the dictatorship of one faction of organized labor. They have said that they are not to be stampeded by an appeal to anti-Jewish or anti-alien prejudice. The arguments to which Dewey descended in his frantic scramble for votes during the last weeks of the fight have been refuted at the polls, and the air of this country is clearer as a result.

This, too, is a cause for relief. It was a disgrace that such arguments should have been employed at all in a national campaign in America. If Dewey had been elected, for whatever combination of reasons, the issue of race and class bigotry would have darkened his Administration and the mood of the country as a whole.

By the same token the magnificent effort of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee and the other independent groups fighting for Roosevelt and a progressive program has been overwhelmingly justified. This result may be of historic importance in American politics. Labor, in particular, has shown what it can do when it organizes for political action. No one can imagine after this campaign that it will crawl back into "pure and simple" unionism. It is a political force and will continue to be. That it will "take over the Democratic Party" as the Republicans have loudly asserted is unlikely. That it has achieved a position of immense strategic advantage is certain.

The political situation is so fluid that different combinations and alignments are possible during the next four years. But it is not too early to say that the old machines in both parties have proved inadequate to the challenge of the election; their prestige was never so low. In both parties the machines still hold power, but their failure to use it effectively surely marks the beginning of their decline. As the result of Roosevelt's victory we predict great changes. And we greet this prospect too with satisfaction and relief.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

The war is taxing the nation's transportation facilities to the limit, and with the oncoming Christmas rush there undoubtedly will be increased delays in the delivery of your copy of *The Nation*. We regret this inconvenience to you, but it is a matter entirely beyond our control. Delays are caused by conditions arising after the issue has been cleared at the New York Post Office.

This week please take into consideration the fact that in order to report the final election results *The Nation* had to go to press Tuesday midnight instead of Monday afternoon.

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The Shape of Things

THE RECORD-SMASHING VOTE OF 1944 WHICH IS being tabulated as this issue goes to press proves beyond a shadow of doubt that democracy in America is a going concern. The total which looks as if it will surpass that of 1940 is all the more extraordinary because of the 11 million men and women in the armed services, many of whom found it exceedingly difficult to secure a ballot on account of state voting requirements. It is also surprising because of the millions of workers and their families who moved from their original homes to war production centers. But it is the vote of the industrial workers which bears the closest study. Heretofore, the American worker has not given a good account of himself at the polls; the voting percentage in this group has been the lowest of any group in the country. Now as we study the figures before us from New England, from Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland and a dozen other war industry cities it is quite evident that the industrial worker has accepted a new responsibility in choosing the leaders of his nation. This is partly due to the challenge of the wartime election in which he feels a special concern. It is more particularly due to the advent of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. The vicious attack concentrated against P. A. C. by the Republican leaders was a tribute to its effectiveness. Long after the scaremongering attempts to discredit the Political Action Committee and the libelous attacks on its leaders are forgotten, the student of American history will record that in the campaign of 1944 it brought a new vitality into American democracy.

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THE NEW AMERICAN POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS became more clearly defined as the campaign progressed. The bitter struggles which have marked the last years of the 78th Congress found their larger counterpart in the struggle in the nation as a whole. The temporarily closed party breaches failed to conceal the basic cleavage between those who stood doggedly for the preservation of deeply-lodged interests—economic and nationalistic—and those who, with greater daring, affirmed the ascendancy of the national well-being and of a world order constituted to maintain the peace and extend democracy to the peoples of all lands. The traditional Democratic-Republican political division fails to express this basic difference. While the old-guard isolationists favor the Republicans in domestic matters both parties harbor reactionaries of all stripes. It is this fact that makes the emergence of the P. A. C. and its campaign allies—the Liberal Party, the National Citizens Committee, and the various independent groups which supported the President—so significant. These may well be the core of a dynamic popular movement that in the years to come will change our political pattern. It is quite evident that the American people are determined not to repeat the tragedy of 1920 or the resultant tragedy of the Great Depression. The 1944 election gives the world good cause for hope that an invigorated American democracy will give leadership to all free peoples in the post-war world.

NEXT TO THE REELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, we count the return of Senator Wagner the best single result of the vote on November 7. First, because in terms of character and service no man in the Senate deserves better of his constituents; second, because the candidate who opposed him fought him on the dishonest issue of communism and did his best to turn the Catholic vote against the Senator; third, because we shall need Wagner's point of view and particular qualifications more than ever in the coming years. Among all the members of the Senate no one has been more consistent in his support of collective security and a democratic foreign policy. This is particularly important in view of the almost certain return of several of the most intransigent Senate isolationists. Moreover, the domestic issues on which he has fought so gallantly—social security, the rights of labor, opposition to monopoly, the intelligent planning of our industrial life—these will be the major issues we must deal with when the war is over. The reelection of Senator Wagner is significant in its own right but it is also significant as a symbol. It means that the New Deal is not dead, either in the Senate or in the hearts of the voters.

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BUT PERHAPS EVEN MORE INSPIRING SYMBOLISM is to be found in the defeat of Hamilton Fish. After all these years in which we have suffered under Fish isolationism, Fish reaction, Fish stupidity, the disappearance of this incubus seems almost too good to be true. The congressman from Dutchess County can now exercise his Junker instincts on his ancestral acres. His defeat is the result of a valiant non-partisan campaign which is greatly to the credit of the men and women who conducted it and the successful candidate, Augustus W. Bennet.

*

THE RECALL OF GENERAL STILWELL HAS HAD the effect of bringing out into the open a lot of facts about present-day conditions in China that badly needed airing. Nothing was gained by pretending that all was sweetness and light in our relations with Chungking while the military, economic, and political situation deteriorated before our eyes. But the disclosure of the problems which our representatives have faced in China will not solve those problems. Nor will Stilwell's recall in itself contribute to an improvement in Chinese-American relations. On the contrary, the effort to revitalize China's war machine has suffered a setback. Some writers argue that with Stilwell out of the way Chiang Kai-shek may be willing to undertake the military and political reorganization for which the United States has been asking. The President's action in sending Nelson back to Chungking indicates that he still hopes for an agreement that will enable the United States to work closely with China in a final drive against Japan. But the fact is that Chiang's efforts to strengthen the military fronts in recent months have frequently been sabotaged by local war lords, and he has never been strong enough to deal adequately with the usurer-landlord combination which has thwarted war production. Moreover, his hatred and fear of the Communists have become such an obsession that there seems little possibility of his cooperating with them either mili-

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tarily or politically. General Stilwell is the one American who has sufficient experience and understanding of China to provide the kind of leadership essential in the present critical situation. Without him, effective cooperation with China seems even less probable than before his recall.

*

FRANCO'S INTERVIEW WITH THE UNITED PRESS in which he declared his constant friendship for the Allies met with little success in the Allied press. Even the conservative London *Daily Mail* found his manner of changing sides "insufferable." Speaking at Braintree, Tom Driberg, Independent M. P., said: "Franco is the most ludicrous and the most nauseating phenomenon of the moment . . . a nasty little rat . . . a fascist Mr. Hyde and a somewhat shop-soiled Dr. Jekyll. I hope he will be kept a long way from the peace table." Franco's was certainly the most cynical pronouncement of the war. From the fall of 1939 until the very moment the German armies withdrew from the Spanish frontier, the Spanish dictator made dozens of statements and speeches which give the lie to his latest remarks and make his demand for a seat at the peace conference "a piece of insolence of which only a representative of the most stupid and arrogant ruling class in Europe could be capable," to quote the London *Daily Herald*. The interview proves Franco's panic and confirms every report of mounting opposition to the Franco regime inside Spain. He is scrambling madly to get Allied support to replace that which the Axis powers can no longer give him. But surely, decent dealings are impossible with a man who has acted as Franco has during the last four years and who has spoken as he has spoken now to the United Press correspondent. Viewed from any angle, such an insult to the intelligence of the American people can be answered in only one way—by breaking diplomatic relations with Franco and declaring once and for all that only the representatives of a Republican Spain will be acceptable at the peace conference.

*

CANADA'S MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, Colonel J. L. Ralston, has handed his resignation to Prime Minister MacKenzie King. Back from an inspection tour of Canada's fighting forces, Colonel Ralston pressed the Prime Minister to make available as overseas reinforcements the 70,000 Home Defense soldiers whose service is restricted to Canada. Mr. King has the power to make these troops available for combat action, but so far he has refused on account of vigorous French Canadian opposition to conscription. Until this recent cabinet crisis, the Prime Minister has appeared to be justified in his policy, aimed at preserving Canadian unity: more than three-quarters of a million Canadians, many of them French, have volunteered for Canada's armed forces, and the recent election in Quebec showed a sharp decrease in the strength of the most active anti-war group, the Bloc Populaire. But with growing casualties from the heavy fighting in Holland and Italy, the resentment in English-speaking Canada has deepened against the 70,000 "zombies," only about 20 per cent of whom are French Canadians. General McNaughton, who has been named to replace Colonel Ralston, has not an easy task. Formerly in command of the Canadian army overseas, he was recalled at the beginning of this year, allegedly on account of serious disagreement with top British generals on the question of keeping the Canadian army intact under Canadian command. He has since declared himself in favor of a volunteer rather than a drafted army. Unless it is shown that sufficient trained reserves are not available as reinforcements he is unlikely to attempt to remedy an early failure to win French Canada whole-heartedly to the war effort by the compulsory enforcement of selective service, which would lead only to a widened chasm between the two races.

*

OTTO OF HAPSBURG IS AGAIN IN THE NEWS. After the collapse of the ill-fated "Hapsburg Legion" in 1943, almost everybody forgot about Otto. But not his friends in the State Department. On November 2 the Archduke arrived in Lisbon, "allegedly," as Frederick Kuh cables *PM*, "in possession of assurances from the U. S. A. that he would be allowed to return to Austria when that country was freed." It is really touching—this eagerness of our officials in Washington to see that European émigrés who desire to return to Europe are given all the necessary facilities. But it would be still more praisworthy if equal facilities were extended to those who are not of royal blood. While Archduke Otto found it easy to settle the usually complicated problems of exit permits, visas, and transportation, Julius Deutsch, the Austrian Socialist leader, has been waiting for months and months, according to our information, to leave for England. Many well-known anti-Fascist Italians have been denied permission to go back, to say nothing of Spanish Republicans. In order to travel through Allied countries today, a Spaniard must be a pro-Nazi Franco agent, like those who compose the Spanish delegation to the International Aviation Conference in Chicago, and whose presence there has provided one of the motives for Russia's refusal to participate. Yesterday Carol of Rumania; today Otto. Freedom of movement for kings and archdukes, but not for anti-fascists.

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THE SEEDS OF RACIAL HATRED THE NAZIS HAVE planted throughout Europe will continue to bear their sour fruits long after all Nazi laws have been repealed. Rumania has been liberated, but the condition of its 270,000 surviving Jews remains desperate; and there is every indication that the series of sorry evasions by its government will be paralleled in other countries. Premier Ion Antonescu's quisling regime was overthrown and Prince Michael set up in his place by the Russians on August 23; on August 30 the constitutions of 1866 and 1923 were reestablished, eliminating all racial and religious discrimination *de jure;* but when the Jews returned from the labor camps to the towns in which they had formerly lived they found their homes and their jobs occupied by "Aryans," and the government refused to do anything about it. Joseph Levy wrote to the New York *Times* on October 22 that "even the leaders of the Communist and Social Democratic parties . . . refuse to intervene on behalf of these Jews. These leaders are courting non-Jewish Rumanian wage-earners, 'who must not be antagonized.'" The next day Soviet Ambassador Andrei A. Gromyko announced

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in Washington that all discriminatory legislation against Jews in Rumania had been "annulled." In the circumstances, the announcement was meaningless. On October 26 the Rumanian Foreign Minister told the Jewish Telegraph Agency that the government would issue specific decrees abolishing discrimination "shortly." On October 28 the American Jewish Committee asked Secretary Hull to "make representations" to the Rumanian government, and on October 31 the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress said the liberation of the country remained "an empty gesture" as far as the Jews were concerned.

Not United Enough

TWO RECENT incidents serve to underscore the precarious character of the unity among the big three "United Nations." One is the sudden Soviet refusal to take part in the international civil-aviation conference at Chicago. The other is the difference which has publicly developed over the question of oil concessions in Iran. Neither is in itself a major matter, but they are disturbing because of their broader implications.

We do not pretend to any but the most fragmentary knowledge of the facts behind these incidents. But it would seem that both might have been avoided by a little advance consultation among the Big Three. Although the civil-aviation conference was preceded by technical conversations between the Americans and the Russians and the Americans and the British, the plans for the actual conference itself do not seem to have been dicussed before the invitations were sent out. The Russians object to sitting down with representatives of Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland, countries which have not recognized the Soviet Union. Spain has even sent armed forces to fight on Russian soil, and Portugal and Switzerland are accused of permitting anti-Soviet activities on their territory. Certainly Russia's grievances against Franco Spain are more substantial than our own against the Argentine, which was not invited. Frankly we welcome the Soviet slap at Franco. It is time we recognized our enemies for what they are and treated El Caudillo as a pariah. His inclusion in the conference admits Axis stooges into post-war aviation councils while antagonizing our Soviet ally. The Soviets, incidentally, seem to agree with the anti-monopolistic position taken by the United States government on post-war air matters, and their participation would strengthen its hand.

Not too much is known of the dispute in Iran. It would seem that Standard-Vacuum, Sinclair, and Royal Dutch Shell had been dickering with the Iranian government for oil concessions during the past year and had almost reached an agreement when the Soviets also asked for concessions. The Russians were not competing with the Anglo-American oil companies; they wanted concessions in northern, the Anglo-Americans in southeastern Iran. But the result of the Russian request was that the Iranian government, with the diplomatic backing of the British and American governments, decided to grant no concessions at all rather than give any to the Soviets. We do not presume to pass on the merits of the dispute, but we do know that oil is a highly inflammable commodity in international diplomacy. If the Big Three permit a controversy of this kind to break out publicly while they are still fighting a common foe, how much chance is there for a stable common front among them when the war is over?

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

MR. CHURCHILL now tells us that he cannot guarantee the end of the European war before next summer, although he still leaves himself a loophole by mentioning the more hopeful estimates of some of the military leaders. General Eisenhower has yet to retract the statement he made on leaving the Mediterranean command at the end of last year—that the European war could be won in 1944 if everyone, at the front and at home, did his duty; but it now seems most probable that the war will indeed go into 1945, perhaps well into 1945, even though nearly everyone has done his duty.

In war, however, the performance of duty always runs the risk of not being sufficient: one's will is continually opposed by the will of the enemy, and the best of strategic plans can collide with the enemy's counter-plans. The high hopes of August and September were justified by the facts of the situation as they then appeared; it is not through any now apparent fault of the Allied generals and soldiers that the favorable circumstances of that time have been replaced by definitely unfavorable circumstances. The one foreseeable adverse circumstance was that the Germans by retreating would be able to concentrate their available troops along less extended fronts, supplied immediately from their base areas via much shorter lines of communication. The second adverse circumstance, which might have been guessed at from past experience, was that the German armies would recover quickly from the deterioration of their long retreats on the eastern and western fronts, and reorganize their defenses by a series of brilliant tactical improvisations. The third adverse circumstance, decisive in the west and probably unforeseeable, was the protracted defense of the French ports, which upset the Allied time-table by preventing the accumulation of sufficient material to force a break-through of what remains, after all, a very formidable defensive position, the Westwall and the outworks which lie before it.

It is still true that the end of organized resistance will probably come suddenly, once this position is breached. The ill-fated Arnhem affair was a daring and gallant attempt to finish the war in the west at one blow, by putting Allied troops completely across the Rhine and going right around the end of the Westwall; the failure of that attempt presaged a long delay while strength was built up to break through the wall. It is also still true that the wall will be broken just as soon as, but not before, a major offensive can be mounted, for German reserves in the west are too thin on the ground to stage an effective counter-offensive, and we know that no static defensive line can withstand a determined and concentrated attack by superior weight of men and metal. The question is, When will that come? Every indi-

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cation now points to the conclusion that it will not come soon enough to spare Europe the horror of another winter of war, or to spare our soldiers the slow agony of many casualties spread over a lengthy period of time without apparent result—the same thing that happened during two previous bitter winters in Tunisia and Italy.

It is not likely that the final clearing of the approaches to Antwerp will seriously affect this judgment. Having been driven from the great port before they could carry out extensive demolitions, the Germans held the ground around the mouth of the Scheldt for nearly all of 1944's last two months of good fighting weather. We now have to sweep the Scheldt from Antwerp to the sea for the many and cunning mines which have undoubtedly been sown in the interim; and once the port is finally opened, we face the very real possibility that the enemy will be able to bombard Antwerp with pilotless aircraft. His launching platforms behind the mouths of the Rhine would be closer to Antwerp than they were to London, and now may come the time for V-2 or even V-3 to go into action.

Italy, of course, could never become a decisive theater of operations in the best of weather, far less in winter. That campaign has been useful in so far as it has provided southern bases for the aerial pincers and tied down upward of twenty-five German divisions which were badly needed on other fronts; but future historians will have to decide whether the pressing of the campaign beyond Rome justified itself in terms of the casualties incurred. The southeastern front is still fluid, with the Russians making good progress toward Budapest, but again the problem of supply over very long lines of communication may prove insuperable, and the theater is so far removed from the sources of German resistance that victory from this quarter is unlikely.

That leaves us with the main eastern front, where the Germans have massed two-thirds of their available divisions. Here the factors of a shorter front and a decided advantage in length of supply lines tend to balance the Red Army's superior man-power and its firm hold of the initiative. The Germans are stressing the importance of the battle for East Prussia. General Dittmar called East Prussia "the cradle of the Prussian-German idea of state" last week, adding that "a definite defensive victory could be won" there. Such a victory does seem to have been won, at least temporarily; and until the Russians clear East Prussia, any major offensive on the central part of the front would be threatened in flank.

Victory may come from either the east or the west; victory in the winter time may be possible in the east, where the ground freezes hard enough to permit long gains, but the enemy must be assumed to be prepared for another full winter's fighting. The only consolation is that it will be a harder winter in Germany than anywhere else in the world.

F. D. R.'s Post-War Program

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 2

AMID the trivialities of the election campaign the press seems to have overlooked Mr. Roosevelt's first concrete, though veiled, hint of how he proposes to achieve full employment after the war. In his speech at Chicago promising sixty million peace-time jobs, the President made one statement that deserves close attention. It may hold the key to his post-war program. "I propose," he said, "that the government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plants through normal investment channels." This is cryptic and may look like double-talk, but it merits patient exegesis.

Let us, however, put it to one side for a moment and glance at the other work-producing measures touched on in the Chicago speech. These are familiar. Mr. Roosevelt spoke of continued government aid to private housing built for those who can afford it and of federal aid to local authorities in providing "for those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes at this time." He spoke of public works—"new highways, new parkways . . . thousands of new airports." He spoke of new "TVA's" on the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Columbia. He seemed to be thinking of continuing some such agency as the Smaller War Plants Corporation into the post-war period when he said that he wanted to give small businesses "every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment, inventories," and when he added that "the special credit and capital requirements of small business are going to be met" (better, we hope, than they have been in the past under the influence of Jesse Jones). None of these measures are new. All are useful, but none are important enough to cope with a major slump, to create sixty million jobs, or to guarantee full employment. They are substantially the same measures that helped to stimulate revival but failed to wipe out unemployment before the war.

But the President's reference to "helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plants through normal investment channels" is something new. It sounds like the Federal Housing Administration on a wider scale. The FHA encouraged home construction and financing through normal construction channels and for the ordinary commercial market by putting a government guaranty behind the loans. It would seem that Mr. Roosevelt is thinking of a setup under which industrial expansion would be financed by government-guaranteed bank loans or credits.

What kind of industrial expansion does the President have in mind? He spoke of encouraging business men "to replace their obsolete and worn-out equipment with new equipment," and offered additional accelerated depreciation for tax purposes as another inducement for replacements. But I should imagine such replacements could hardly be a major factor,

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since much of America's industrial equipment has already been modernized as part of the war-production program. The President also spoke of encouraging industry "to expand its plants." He said he foresaw an expansion of our peace-time productive capacity that would "require new facilities, new plants, new equipment capable of hiring millions of men." But before such new expansion can become possible, we must succeed in utilizing the greatly expanded industrial capacity we have. The rough estimate is that thanks to expansion and improvement of facilities during the war, our industrial capacity has risen about 50 per cent. It is generally agreed that living standards must be increased about 50 per cent if we are to achieve full employment of machines and men after the war. Not until then can we think of any major expansion of plant.

I am inclined to believe that the President was talking of government guaranties for expanding not merely plant capacity but also the output of existing plants. I know that many Administration economists are thinking along such lines. Let us suppose we were prepared to make a survey of our post-war capacity to produce, industry by industry, and of our capacity to consume, industry by industry. Such a survey would show us what our needs were in terms of both present potential output and feasible plant expansion. Now no single entrepreneur could take the financial risk of stepping up his peace-time output 50 per cent, much less of adding to present plant capacity, without some assurance that the rest of industry would move forward with him, thus creating the expanded purchasing power necessary to absorb his expanded output. Let us suppose the government were prepared to help industry do that kind of planning and to protect business men against loss by providing government-guaranteed bank credits for industrial expansion. On such a basis we would stand a chance of achieving full employment. Is that what is in the President's mind?

Mordecai Ezekiel of the Department of Agriculture, one of the few early Brain Trusters still surviving, put forward a program of this kind in 1939 in his book "Jobs for All Through Industrial Expansion." The sentence I have quoted from the President's Chicago speech—about helping industry to finance expansion through normal commercial channels—sounds as if it were an echo of a passage in the Ezekiel book. "Industrial concerns," Ezekiel wrote, "will first work out programs of expansion for their industry. Next they will sign contracts with the designated government agency to produce that increased production. Then they will go to their own banks for whatever funds are needed to finance the increased output. . . . Loans to expand production will be safe loans. They will be backed both by the general industrial expansion program and the government underwriting." In such a program, fully tapping America's capacity to consume, one can indeed foresee, as the President does, a peace-time expansion requiring "new facilities, new plants, new equipment—capable of hiring millions of men."

Mr. Roosevelt at Chicago, bowing the campaign knee to the great American sacred cow, affirmed his belief "that private enterprise can give full employment to our people." It cannot do so for any extended period except within the framework of some such general economic planning, with government aid and leadership. That way lies the possibility of avoiding serious social conflict after the war, for it could provide full employment without essential disturbance to private ownership and profit. It might also provide a happy compromise for so energetic, enterprising, and individualistic a country as our own between the inevitable bureaucratic tangles of a completely centralized and government-owned economy and an anarchistic hit-or-miss economy which breaks down periodically. If Governor Dewey is elected, it will take the suffering of another great depression to start us in the direction Mr. Roosevelt seems to have in mind. If the President wins next Tuesday, we have a chance of moving toward full employment more quickly and less painfully; and I think the Chicago speech offers the first preview, though dimmed for political safety, of how Mr. Roosevelt proposes to get us there.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ISAAC DON LEVINE [an anti-Bolshevik in 1944] again cables the Chicago *Daily News* that the power of the Bolsheviki is only strengthened by external attacks and that no matter what happens to them the Soviets will endure. In reply to five questions submitted by Mr. Levine, Lenin over his own signature declares that the Soviet government is prepared to prove that it represents the majority of the Russian people; that it stands unwaveringly on the peace terms agreed upon with William C. Bullitt; that it is willing to guarantee absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries; and that it is decidedly for an economic understanding with all countries, "but especially with America."—*November 1, 1919.*

NOTHING SOUNDS SO MUCH like a return to peace as the news that Sir Thomas Lipton has again challenged for the America's Cup.—*November 1, 1919.*

THE WEEK HAS BROUGHT OUT clearly how completely Senator Lodge controls the situation as to the treaty. One reservation after another has been adopted, including, by a vote of forty-six to thirty-three, the one interpreting Article X of the Covenant in almost precisely the same language which Mr. Wilson on his tour said would "cut the heart out of the treaty."—*November 15, 1919.*

THE SITUATION IN ITALY clearly does not improve. D'Annunzio's spectacular occupation of Zara , . . . with the tacit connivance, it would appear, of Admiral Millo, gives further proof of the extent of disaffection in the Italian army and navy and of the weakness of the Nitti government in the face of the approaching crisis. . . . One need not take seriously the rumored intention of D'Annunzio's followers to upset the monarchy and make D'Annunzio President of Italy, to see that Italy itself is near the brink.—*November 29, 1919.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Henri Barbusse, "Light"; Theodore Dreiser, "Hey Rub-a-Dub-Dub"; Robert Frost, "North of Boston"; D. H. Lawrence, "New Poems"; W. Somerset Maugham, "The Moon and Sixpence"; Eugene O'Neill, "Beyond the Horizon"; Thorstein Veblen, "The Vested Interests and the State of the Industrial Arts."

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Trafalgar for Japan

BY BERNARD BRODIE

THE status of Japan as a major sea power came to an end on October 24, 1944. While our victories at Midway and Guadalcanal were of perhaps equal strategic significance in that they hastened the overthrow of early Japanese naval superiority in the Pacific and thus enabled us to seize the initiative, the Second Battle of the Philippine Sea reduced Japan to a position where its remaining fleet strength was insufficient to affect materially our strategic plans.

Among the casualties of the battle was the recently popular theory that the Japanese navy shunned the Nelsonian tradition of decisive actions for command of the sea, that it regarded itself as merely "a floating wing of a powerful army," existing exclusively for convoy escort. There was never anything in the writings or pronouncements of responsible Japanese naval officials to support such a doctrine, and an unbiased reading of Japanese naval conduct, especially during the first year of the present war, should have prevented any such misconception from developing. As Admiral Sankichi Takahashi, former commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet, put it in a speech at Kokura in February, 1944: "In sea battles the power that gains command of the seas last wins, and annihilation of enemy naval strength is the most important way to attain this end." The Japanese have always believed that. They believe it still, and the conviction must cause them considerable heartache.

In their attack at Pearl Harbor and in all the events which followed up to Midway, the Japanese were clearly bidding for command of the Pacific. And in the first four months of the Guadalcanal campaign they bitterly contested our invasion of what was after all a remote outpost. But their efforts cost them too dearly. After the crucial battles of November, 1942, the Japanese navy had for all offensive purposes shot its bolt. It had suffered more severely than the American navy had, and it had already been outdistanced in the construction race.

In later fights the Japanese showed more caution. We were given little opportunity during our advances of 1943 to sink or damage important Japanese warships. By the time of our invasion of the Gilberts in November of that year, the Japanese had clearly withdrawn the bulk of their fleet to Asiatic waters, where it was held in reserve for some decisive issue or occasion of opportunity. The enemy meanwhile attempted to stay our progress as best he could with aircraft and occasional light surface forces, besides, of course, his land garrisons, which being isolated were considered expendable. His submarines were forced more and more into the task of supplying with at least a trickle of goods the otherwise inaccessible enclaves of men whom we had by-passed in our advance. Japan was paying the price of having recklessly ferried armies across seas over which it could not maintain control. The Japanese navy adopted a fleet-in-being strategy which seemed subsequently to grow ever more abject.

OUR INCREASING MARGIN OF SUPERIORITY

The Japanese had no real alternative. Here was a nation which was third-rate industrially and which possessed only an obsolescent and already grievously damaged fleet in mortal combat with the greatest industrial power on earth—one which had pulled out of the hat in just two years of war a new and incredibly powerful navy. And the American navy was seconded by another, which had hitherto been the premier navy of the world. Small wonder that the Japanese tried to conserve their warships! All navies do, but the Japanese navy had more reason to than any other.

Moreover, our margin of superiority kept growing constantly, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Our quantitative growth, in fact, entailed in itself an increasing qualitative advantage, since accretions to our strength always meant an increasing proportion of *new* ships and planes in our fleet. By the middle of 1944 our fleet was already predominantly new, while the Japanese fleet remained predominantly old. In battleships, for example, our ten new ones alone were more than equal in combat strength to the whole Japanese battle line of old and new ships. Our new aircraft carriers of the Essex class were not only far more numerous than Japanese carriers of comparable size but also much superior. In light carriers, escort carriers, heavy and light cruisers, destroyers, and the all-important auxiliaries of the fleet train, our expansion was tremendous, while the Japanese were not able to replace losses, except possibly in carriers.

And the American conception of the "balanced fleet," pushed through against a public opinion misled by air extremists, was coming into its own. The aircraft carrier operating in large concentrations proved to be a very different thing from the carrier operating singly or in small groups. Such concentrations demonstrated their ability both to maintain their own security against enemy air attack and to command passage for the fleet through and among the enemy-held island groups of the Pacific. Thus our fleet had restored to it most of its old freedom of movement. And with our carriers we combined fast new battleships, which not only ran interference for the carriers but functioned as offensive agents on their own. The whole produced a force able to assert itself anywhere on the seas against any kind of enemy opposition whatever.

The Japanese, on the other hand, having gone all-out for the carrier after Pearl Harbor, the Coral Sea, and Midway, sought to fill their needs in large vessels of this category not only by converting liners but also by wholly or partially converting battleships. Perhaps with their pressing need and lack of resources there was little else they could do. Yet the Japanese rejection of "the balanced fleet" was in part ideological. The same Admiral Takahashi already quoted declared on March 4, 1944, in a speech at the Kyushu Steel Works that the Japanese battleships ought to be scrapped and their steel used for the construction of more aircraft!

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Thus the Japanese tended to put all their eggs in one basket, which might not have served them so ill if the basket had been more adequate. But their carriers were insufficient in number, their planes grossly inferior in performance, and most inferior of all in comparison with the magnificent equipment of our own ships was the quality of their anti-aircraft armament—a vital though usually overlooked component in air-combat potential. As a result, in the two battles of the Philippine Sea Japanese carrier planes proved almost impotent against American combat vessels, while American carrier planes demonstrated their continuing ability to carry out deadly execution of enemy ships.

Nor can one forget personnel. Making all due allowance for the bias of national pride and for the indisputably superior quality of our material, it is by now clear that American strategic and tactical conceptions have been throughout the war far superior to those of Japanese naval leaders, and that the American pilot or ship's crewman has been on the whole a better man at his job than his Japanese counterpart.

Japanese naval spokesmen have for many months openly admitted the inferiority of their fleet in all categories of naval vessels. Occasionally, as for example at a public round table reported in the magazine *Fuji* for September, 1943, Japanese airmen admitted the inferior quality as well as the hopelessly insufficient number of their aircraft. Yet there could be no doubt, their Bushido spirit being what it is, that the Japanese would never surrender with an even partially intact battle line. Somewhere along our line of advance it was sure to be thrown in. The question was, where? Until it was met and disposed of, every advance we made had to be a major fleet operation, and we could extend ourselves only as fast as we could extend the operating radius of our ships—which meant converting newly won positions at utmost speed into operating bases for our combatant fleet and for its tremendous train. That we were able to advance as rapidly as we did is a miracle of modern naval logistics.

Our invasion of the Marianas in June of this year finally presented the Japanese navy with a challenge it could not ignore. The result was the First Battle of the Philippine Sea, which because of its supposed inconclusiveness was written off by a disappointed press as an abortive action. But the Japanese had never intended to let us have a surface action in those open waters, for while they could not afford to lose Saipan and Guam, neither could they afford to lose their fleet in defending them. They did, however, come out with the bulk, perhaps the whole, of their available carrier strength and with those few battleships fast enough to provide cover without becoming an embarrassment. And the resulting action was a disaster to the Japanese. A very considerable portion of their fleet carriers was sunk or severely damaged, as became evident in the larger action of four months later, which was notable for the paucity of Japanese carriers involved. The replacements for the trained pilots lost must have reduced the effectiveness of those carriers which remained. Destruction and damage to other categories, including battleships, were perhaps greater than we at first believed.

LAND-BASED VERSUS CARRIER-BASED AIRCRAFT

After this débâcle the Japanese were forced to rest their remaining hopes primarily on their land-based aircraft. As soon as we came within their "basic sea area," enemy propagandists constantly reiterated, our fleet and with it our hopes of ultimate victory would be crushed by Japanese land-based air forces. The Japanese fleet would then enter the battle to consummate the destruction and would thus again become cock of the walk in the western Pacific. It was the wholehearted commitment to this prospect which explains in part the unprecedented—even for the Japanese—build-up into a great propaganda victory of the "Battle of Formosa," which the Japanese fleet never entered and which was in fact an unmitigated defeat for the Japanese air force.

There was nothing essentially novel in this strategic conception. It was the *Kräfteausgleich* theory of the German navy in World War I translated into a new tactical environment. Its realization depended basically on the presumed superiority of "unsinkable aircraft carriers" to those which float and move. And vociferous proponents of that superiority were to be found in the United States as well as Japan.

Our successful assaults on the Gilberts, the Marshalls, the Marianas, and the Palaus, as well as our conquest of the archipelagoes in the southwestern Pacific, might have given some pause to exponents of the doctrine that naval forces could not contend with land-based air forces, but in each of those cases we were attacking islands of very limited area and therefore capable of operating only limited numbers of aircraft. The distances by which they were separated from each other precluded effective mutual support. And being both short of aircraft generally and obliged to disperse those they possessed over wide areas, the Japanese were not even able to provide their distant outposts with the number of planes which those bases could have supported.

In the Ryukyu-Formosa-Philippines area, however, we were for the first time assaulting what was in effect a large land mass which because of its position was the key to the enemy's whole strategic system. It could be expected to be

Courtesy Abbott Laboratories

Drawing by Joseph Hirsch

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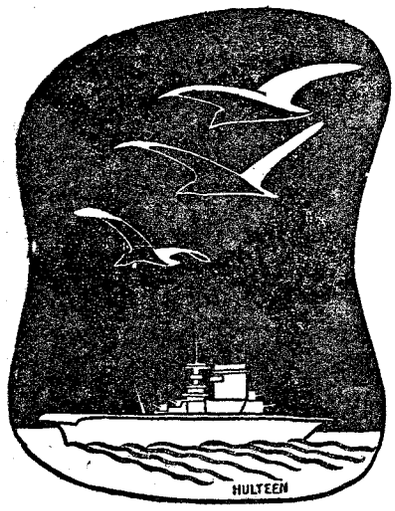
supporting a very substantial part of the enemy's total air force, which, indeed, from the toll we took was found to be the case. In the seven weeks preceding our landings in the Philippines on October 19, more than 1,900 Japanese land-based airplanes were destroyed in air combat and on the ground at the cost of about 160 of our own planes lost in combat (that is, not including operational casualties). In addition, our carrier aircraft chopped off during that period at least another 20 per cent of Japan's already crucially attenuated shipping, besides inflicting considerable damage on shore installations. The immediate result was not only the neutralization of enemy air opposition to our landings but also the immobilization of the Japanese garrisons dispersed among the islands and the serious reduction of enemy means of reinforcement.



Of the vast conglomeration of American ships in the fleet and its train, only two "medium vessels"—presumably cruisers—had to retire from the area prior to our landings because of battle damage. Among close students of the communiqués there was some mystification, mixed in more skeptical quarters with outright disbelief, at the immunity of our fleet in the face of what is normally considered the most hazardous kind of operations. Prior to October, 1944, a long succession of communiqués announcing carrier strikes and amphibious landings of unprecedented audacity were almost monotonous in their steady reiteration of the statement, "There was no damage to our ships." Yet no real reason for mystification or disbelief existed. Our immunity was but the normal reward of operating in overwhelming quantitative and qualitative superiority in all departments and particularly in that of air warfare.

Our naval fighter planes operating from our carriers had proved tactically superior to the best land-based planes which the Japanese were able to send against them. This advantage no doubt surprised many who had assumed that carrier planes, because of special limitations in design, must inevitably be inferior to land-based planes. But it is always a question of *whose* planes one is talking about. While our navy Hellcats and Corsairs do not have quite the margin of superiority in flying performance over the best Japanese fighters that our Mustangs and Thunderbolts enjoy, they have margin enough, and they have a comparable advantage in fire power and armor.

Besides, in the Ryukyu-Formosa-Philippines operations, which covered a large area, we usually managed to make ourselves numerically superior to the enemy at the particular point of attack. Our great carrier groups have provided our navy with what is the only truly mobile air force of any size in the world. It is an air force in which not only aircraft themselves but also their floating bases are capable of rapid movement—and it enjoys all the advantages of mobility, such as ability to concentrate and to achieve surprise. The enemy's ability to combine or coordinate his separate groups of aircraft, on the other hand, depended on forewarning and on the distance between his airfields.

As our operations in the area approached their culmination, Admiral Soemu Toyoda, apparently misled by the mendacity which seems to characterize not only the Japanese Propaganda Ministry but even more the field reports of Japanese commanders of all echelons, sent out his fleet to have a look. What it saw was not good. The United States Third Fleet, far from having been largely destroyed, still enjoyed complete possession of the overwhelming fire and air power with which it had approached the enemy coasts, and it was obviously spoiling for a fight. Discretion seemed, for the time being, to be the better part of valor.

LEYTE MEANT NOW OR NEVER

There the matter might have rested had our landing on Leyte not followed hard upon. Japanese political and military leaders had several times publicly acknowledged that loss of the Philippines must inevitably mean loss of the war for Japan. For not only would the Philippines present us with a great staging base for future operations against the Chinese coast and ultimately Japan itself, but the establishment of our naval and air forces in that archipelago, together with our earlier seizure of bases in the Marianas and the Palaus, would enable us to sever Japan's communications with all the lands between the Bay of Bengal and the Solomon Sea. And these lands contained, besides the vast wealth of strategic resources for which Japan had originally gone to war, the cream of the Japanese army. No nation could afford such a loss. And, again, Japan could afford it less than any other.

It was simply a case of now or never. A more critical strategic situation could not arise unless Japan itself were being invaded, and the Japanese could not wait that long to use their fleet. The ratio of strength would never be less unfavorable to them than it was now. On the contrary, with our construction program continuing at top delivery level and with the collapse of Germany impending, further delay might mean the loss of their last chance. Besides, here at last was their chance to fight a sea action within range of what were—or rather had been—large, land-based Japanese air forces.

Thus the Japanese fleet moved in for the showdown fight. They unquestionably threw in all they had in major combat units—all, that is, which was not immobilized by previous damage. Those commentators who have insisted on the basis of their own calculations that only a half to two-thirds of available Japanese carriers were present are simply not aware of the dire straits to which the Japanese fleet had already been reduced. Admirals Nimitz and Halsey have somewhat better knowledge of the facts. They know what they are talking about when they insist that for all practical purposes the whole Japanese fleet was present and that it was halved. The half which escaped did so in a very bad state of repair. To be sure, a few light cruisers and destroyers may have been absent on convoy duty. None the less, the very low number of destroyers present in proportion to larger vessels reveals conclusively the terrible attrition which the enemy has suffered

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in this type. Despite the frequent use of the word by press and radio analysts, it was anything but an "intact" fleet which the Japanese brought to the Philippines.

NOT A JUTLAND BUT A TRAFALGAR

There is no room in this article for an extensive analysis of the battle itself. And although at this writing the magnificent Pacific Fleet Communiqué No. 168, which summarizes the battle, has already been released, information is still too sketchy to warrant such an attempt. We know that the enemy moved into action in three separate formations, a behavior which had proved costly to him before and which bore out merely his continued devotion to certain illusions concerning the transferability of land tactics to sea war. We know that despite initial damage and loss to our submarines and carrier aircraft he pressed on to within gun range. Only the northernmost of his three formations had carriers with it at all, and all formations came to a close-range action. The most critical phase of the battle, involving the two southernmost forces, was settled in our favor largely by the fire of our battleships and cruisers, thus giving the conclusive answer to still another controversy. Incidentally, it was several of our old battleships rather than our new ones which happened to be at the right spot at the right time.

The most important of our own casualties was the light carrier Princeton, one of at least nine of the Independence class. Lost as a result of land-based air attack, she seems to have been the only ship which fell to any enemy aircraft at all, whether land-based or carrier-based. The other American ships lost—two escort carriers, two destroyers, and one destroyer-escort—seem to have fallen mostly to surface attack. The Princeton, incidentally, is the first American combat vessel of greater than destroyer size to be lost to enemy air attack in twenty-one months of war—the first, that is, since the cruiser Chicago was sunk off Rennell Island on January 30, 1943. Thus the complete failure of Japanese carrier aviation in the face of the powerful air defenses of our fleet is confirmed, and can now be spoken of in the past tense. Our own carrier forces attained the scores to which they have become accustomed, and at a lesser cost than ever before.

Our losses as compared to those of the enemy and especially as compared with our existing strength can be described only as trivial. Those of the enemy were devastating. The battle was therefore not a Jutland but a Trafalgar. A number of important enemy ships—especially some six battleships—got away, and of these some will be repaired. They have lived to fight another day; but it will not be a fight to challenge our command, as the recent battle was. It will be a mere *banzai* charge, a last act of desperation to redeem failure by suicide.

There remains, of course, a great deal of hard fighting—ashore. Sea power has never had any other ultimate purpose than to enable armies to fight land battles where they want to fight them and under the best possible circumstances. Though Trafalgar contributed greatly to Napoleon's final downfall and perhaps made it inevitable, the downfall did not take place until ten long years after the battle. The inevitability of Japan's downfall as a result of its naval defeat is much clearer, and the event will certainly not be delayed for ten years, but we must still send large armies to the Far East. Our victory off the Philippines, however, will make it much easier to transport those armies to the desired places and to supply them, and greatly reduces the amount of resistance which our forces will ultimately have to overcome—not only on the sea and in the air but also on land.

End of the Party Truce

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, November 2, by Cable

BRITAIN'S over-age Parliament—its full term actually completed four years ago—has been given another reprieve, but its days are numbered, for Churchill has undertaken to hold an election within two or three months after the end of the German war, which he now suggests may last until early summer. The end of the National Government is also in sight, for in introducing the Prolongation of Parliament bill, the Premier gracefully abandoned the hopes he once expressed of carrying on the coalition in peace time. As long as the German war continued, he said, there should be no change in government, and in this decision spokesmen of all parties concurred. But he agreed that once the main purpose of the party truce had been achieved there must be a reversion to party politics, and the electorate must be given an opportunity to express its views at the polls.

This decision became inevitable four weeks ago when the national executive of the Labor Party issued a statement that the party would fight in the general election independently and would have nothing to do with a "coupon election," with seats allocated by agreement between the different groups in the coalition. The Labor Party, the statement continued, "will go before the country with a practical policy based upon the Socialist principles in which it believes and will invite the electors to return a majority pledged to support a Labor government to implement that policy." This announcement was definitely in accordance with the wishes of the rank and file and produced a very stimulating effect, for although nearly all members of the party have accepted the National Government and the political truce as war-time necessities, there is an increasing desire to have free hands in tackling the tasks of the peace. The Tories also have been growing restive, as parliamentary attention turned more and more to matters of post-war reconstruction and they found themselves confronted by legislation which had to give some recognition to the views of the other parties. Thus the Labor statement proved a signal for the removal of the dust sheets from the political machinery.

"There is an odor of dissolution in the air," remarked Churchill yesterday, "and parties are inclined to look at each

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other across the House with an increasing sense of impending division." The Premier went on to deprecate strongly the emphasizing of party differences while the war was still in the critical stage, pointing out that there would be plenty of time for party oratory between the dissolution and the poll. But the Labor spokesman, Arthur Greenwood, replied that it was certain that in the new session opening shortly there would be legislation which "the Premier may hope won't prove controversial but which in many quarters of the House will be regarded as controversial." With many months of parliamentary time now available, the government can hardly fail to bring forward bills embodying the proposals summarized in a series of White Papers on social and economic reconstruction. In the session now concluding, the Education Act has passed and the Town and Country Planning bill has been approved by the Commons, though it is encountering querulous but probably ineffective scrutiny from the landowning peers. The schemes for national health service and all-in social insurance are now ripe for translation into statutory form.

These proposals carry the stamp of the National Government. They were drafted after long discussions and may be said to represent roughly the least Labor could take and the most the Tories could swallow. The attitude of the Labor men to whom I have talked is that they should be accepted for what they are worth; they move in the right direction and lay the foundation for further progress. However, there is a strong body of right-wing Tory back-benchers who regard the whole planning program as a menace. They have kept fairly quiet as long as the proposals did not advance beyond the White Paper stage, recognizing perhaps the election value of such documents. But when asked to vote for turning such proposals into the law of the land, they are apt to gag. On town and country planning the Tory revolt scored some minor successes but suffered a sharp defeat on the main issue of compensation. This experience will probably prompt the diehards to seek a postponement of further measures which place them in the dilemma of either allowing the passage of laws which outrage their deepest instincts or incurring the onus of splitting the government. Labor, on the other hand, will undoubtedly press for the completion of as much as possible of the National Government program so that the political arena may be cleared of these issues of social reform and made available for a fight on fundamentals.

Meanwhile Labor has a number of international questions to settle before it is ready for the electoral battle. Among these are its relations with other left groups, including the Common Wealth, which is seeking affiliation. The Common Wealth is anxious to join the bigger body provided the Labor Party is willing to make a fight independently and on a full Socialist program. It believes it has something valuable to offer, but it has been organizing intensively in constituencies where Labor always found difficulty in making headway, and it has succeeded to some extent in converting middle-class elements who have previously shied away from the party dominated by the trade-unions. Common Wealth spokesmen have expressed to me high hopes that they will be accepted as a going concern, but conversations with Labor officials suggest that this optimism is ill-founded. Labor views the Common Wealth as an illegitimate child of the party truce, which gave it an opportunity to rally assorted malcontents at the by-elections. The party is willing to kill the fatted calf for the Common Wealthers as individuals, just as it is for Cripps, but definitely regards the affiliation of semi-autonomous groups, which would be competing to attract party members, as undesirable. Further, party spokesmen feel that the acceptance of the Common Wealth would make more difficult the continued exclusion of the Communists, which they are bent on maintaining. The final decision on the question will be taken by the party conference in December, but the executive decision is almost certain to be indorsed. The future of the Common Wealth appears therefore extremely dark, though it might survive until after the general election.

Dr. William Temple and His Britain

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE death of Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, robs Britain not only of its ablest and most courageous churchman but of one of the most brilliant of its statesmen. Though the perfection of his gifts was unique, their essential quality was so typically British that an appreciation of the man and his work gives an American the possibility of seeing some important qualities of British life in vivid and personal terms.

I met Dr. Temple for the first time in 1923. He was then the Bishop of Manchester and was presiding in a great hall of one of the Oxford colleges over a meeting of the Workers' Education Association. I saw him last a year ago, when as his house guest over a busy week-end at Canterbury I accompanied him on two visits to rural parishes in the Canterbury diocese. In between his various meetings and official duties he insisted on setting time apart for long discussions of theological, international, and political questions. His mind, I believe, was the most perfect precision instrument I have ever encountered.

Dr. Temple sitting in a smoke-filled room as chairman of a workers' meeting and Dr. Temple celebrating early morning communion in the Canterbury Cathedral are good pictorial symbols of the two main dimensions of his life. He was one of the most influential theologians of our time and the first president of the World Council of Churches, which sought to overcome the fractionalism of Protestantism, but the primary significance of his life lay in his ability to carry the radical social implications of the Christian faith into higher ecclesiastical office than any other churchman. These two dimensions of his life, the social-radical and the religious,

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were the measure of one whole. There were Tories who insinuated that he debased the church by using it as a vantage point for spreading Socialist doctrine, but Dr. Temple was too obviously the dominant religious as well as social force in his church and nation for such charges to be plausible. One of the leading British weeklies, in reviewing a volume of his addresses delivered since his enthronement at Canterbury, declared only a few weeks ago: "The book makes it plain that the Archbishop is not preaching 'another Gospel,' a political one. . . . All admiration or criticism of the Archbishop which sees in him a prophet of secular well-being, to which he adjusts the Christian gospel, is greatly in error." The real fact is that Dr. Temple was able to relate the ultimate insights of religion about the human situation to the immediate necessities of political justice and the proximate possibilities of a just social order more vitally and creatively than any other modern Christian leader.

While radical social convictions are not frequently expressed from the vantage point of high ecclesiastical responsibility, particularly in an established church—though our own Bishop McConnell achieved a similar relation between responsibility and prophetic freedom—and while no one with fewer resources than Dr. Temple could have held his unique and yet representative position, it may be well for Americans to realize that Dr. Temple's great eminence in British public life was partly due to national virtues which are not always appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. His selection as Primate of the Church of England two years ago was partly the consequence of the fact that his eminence in the church by reason of his learning and his religious leadership was so undisputed that a Tory Prime Minister could not have avoided the appointment had he desired to. Americans are inclined to assume that a state church means the church's subservience to the state, but among the resources of Britain we must count its capacity to transcend constitutional limitations in its actual policies. The church had a Dr. Temple in the hour of crisis, just as the nation had a Winston Churchill. The church also had democratic means of expressing its will beyond the constitutional form of a royal appointment. And the nation had a tradition which made it possible to use ancient forms for accomplishing democratic ends.

It is worth mentioning also that Dr. Temple's appointment came at a time when British public temper, prompted by anxiety and fear in a catastrophic situation, was highly critical of the government. The ascendancy of Stafford Cripps in the councils of the nation was contemporaneous with Dr. Temple's appointment, and both may have been prompted by the same general mood. Yet Dr. Temple's leadership was not the product of momentary caprice, and he has since spoken for the conscience of Britain in defining the moral, social, and political goals of post-war England. In the course of a recent after-dinner political discussion in London, the question of Churchill's successor came up, and there was general unanimity that Eden would not be strong enough to ride and control turbulent post-war politics. When a well-known political leader regretted that the Archbishop was unavailable for the position, his opinion met general assent. Temple, this speaker declared, would more perfectly combine

The Road Ahead

THE election is over; the road ahead opens into a political future full of danger and promise, challenge and potential satisfaction. In the coming months this country faces decisions which will determine the course of its history for generations to come—and not only its own history but the world's.

Beginning now, *The Nation* will analyze week by week the issues before our newly elected government—the great issues of international cooperation and the building of a democratic world, of jobs and production, of taxes and reconversion, of race relations, personal liberty. We shall try to publish the materials out of which mature and responsible citizens can create a progressive policy for America, now and after the war.

What is needed, in our far from modest view, is a wide extension of the ideas and information provided by *The Nation.* And we hope that you, our regular readers, will help bring that about, and at the same time please your intelligent friends, by sending subscriptions to *The Nation* as Christmas gifts. This is not a year for luxuries; 1944 is a year for necessities—and straight thinking about major public questions is perhaps the most urgent necessity of all.

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the British sense of the historical with the country's present radical temper than any other man in public life. That a man of his views should have been elevated to the Primacy of the Established Church of England is itself a tribute to that peculiar British virtue which makes it possible for the nation to cherish ancient forms while constantly insinuating into them new meanings and purposes. Yet a lesser man could have easily been destroyed by the office, not only because of the general hazards of ecclesiastical office but also because the Established Church is still intimately related to the squirearchy, that remnant of feudal England. Only a leader as courageous as he was astute could have so fully expressed the conscience of the nation in the current situation from the vantage point of an official position heavily endowed with traditional encumbrances as well as with historical treasures of great worth.

Last summer I was able to get a glimpse of Dr. Temple in juxtaposition with the characteristic social and religious forces of British life which made him possible. The occasion was a "Religion and Life" week in Newcastle at which the Archbishop was the chief of a number of speakers. This week opened with an official banquet given by the Lord Mayor in the Town Hall in honor of the Primate. The Mayor was a Methodist by faith and a Labor man in politics; incidentally he had a great reputation as an expert on housing. He recalled that he had welcomed the distinguished guest to Newcastle a quarter-century ago. "At that time," he said, "you were a young Oxford don and I was the chairman of a trade-union committee trying to establish a branch in this city of the Workers' Education Association." After extolling the virtues of Dr. Temple's mind and heart as a leader of the people, the Lord Mayor paid a reverent tribute to the meaning of the See of Canterbury in British life—mixing the two themes in a way which would have convinced any Socialist mayor of a Continental city that the British are completely mad. The Mayor contributed another item to this nice mixture by insisting, as a Methodist, that Dr. Temple's elevation was prompted partly by Methodist and labor enthusiasm for his religious and social views.

It might be added that when the religious meetings began the next day, the Archbishop addressed an audience of 4,000 people and an overflow of 2,000, that he spoke for an hour with that effortless facility which is characteristically British in kind but which was unique in the degree of its perfection, that he held his audience spellbound without once raising his voice, and that his address, though close-knit and logical, ranged all the way from a description of the sacramental fellowship of the first Christian church to the problems of brotherhood and economic justice amid the complexities of war-torn England and a shattered world.

This was Christian statesmanship at its best. It was also Britain at its best—in its genius for combining what other nations separate, in its penchant for allowing liberty to broaden down from precedent to precedent, and in its ability to achieve unity on basic issues above party conflict. It was a representative performance; but the poise of spirit, the logical force, and the ethical passion of the speaker were too striking to be typical. They revealed the resources of a great man who will not be replaced in this or in many generations.

In the Wind

IN HIRING contract-termination negotiators, the War Department requires "a present earning capacity exceeding $10,000 per annum and preferably $20,000 and upward." That eliminates all civil-service career employees, regardless of experience and ability. And the job pays only $6,500.

ADVERTISEMENT in Chicago street cars: "The Fifth Freedom—Freedom from high funeral costs. Lain and Son Funeral Directors."

IN SOUTH AFRICA, the Dutch Reformed Church Synod of the Transvaal has adopted, without a dissenting voice, a resolution opposing the marriage of Afrikaans-speaking (South African Dutch) citizens with English-speaking citizens.

AN EDITORIAL attacking the C. I. O., in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, makes an exception: "Of course there are many C. I. O. leaders to whom communism is as repugnant as it is to the Daughters of the American Revolution."

FROM A LETTER by a Coast Guardsman to the *Detroiter*: "Now and then a civilian gives me a lift; buys me a drink. When I thank them, they usually reply, 'Well, it's the least we can do for you fellows in the service.' . . . It's little comfort to fight for a drink, a lift, a glad hand. What I want is that the future is free of war. I don't want anyone to feel indulgent toward a young lad because he may be killed."

AN ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR takes exception to the Wagner act's provision requiring reinstatement of employees who have been dismissed for union activity: "In ordering an employer to take back an undesired employee, the [New] Deal was forcing two people to associate with each other when one, at least, did not wish to do so; the unwilling one had to pay the other also. This is violating the very fundamentals of freedom."

THOMAS F. WOODLOCK, the philosopher of the *Wall Street Journal*, on the origins of fascism: "The 'Popular Front' is the first sign of a degenerative disease in a 'democratic' state such as ours, which, if unchecked, finally results in the 'single-party state' and the all-powerful 'leader'—in other words, the very thing we are all supposed to be fighting —*fascism!*"

FESTUNG EUROPA: The *Völkische Beobachter* complains that Czechs on the streets of Prague these days too often have "an irritating smile." . . . Between 60 and 65 per cent of the population of Holland has been affected by the floods let loose by the Nazis.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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On the Spanish Frontier

BY MEYER LEVIN

Spanish-French border, October 27

ON THE Pyrenees snow line, in an ancient village with streets too narrow for cars to pass, there is an outpost of a *guerrillero* (Spanish *maquis)* brigade in France. "Spain is only a few hours' walk over the snow-cap," said Christiano García, who was inspecting the brigade. Half of a battalion was in the house taken over from the Gestapo, watching a demonstration of how to assemble English machine-guns, and the others were training for mountain climbing and warfare. In a few days members of the brigade may cross over to the Spanish side and forget to return.

The status of the troops is a peculiar one, for the *guerrilleros* are officially part of the French Forces of the Interior and under their orders, having taken part in the liberation of France. García, who fought in the Nîmes region, cites fifty-eight Spaniards who were killed there, and he himself limps from an ankle wound. Thousands of Spaniards are still fighting in General Jacques Leclerc's division. For this aid, the F. F. I. gives provisions to *guerrillero* groups and assigns them to duty on the Spanish-French border, where they have an opportunity to get into Spain.

García's soldiers, as all in the tragic history of the Spanish fight for democracy, are ill-clad and poorly armed. Only the officers have uniforms. The others wear civilian clothes, supplemented occasionally with an English or French battle jacket. Their guns—there are not enough for all—are a strange mixture of German and Allied weapons, some without ammunition. Nevertheless, the spirit of the men is good. Some are comrades from the days of the Spanish civil war; some were with Frenchmen in prison camps, in mines working for the Germans, or in the *maquis*. They are still together for the final fight.

The *guerrilleros* have withdrawn twenty-five kilometers from the actual frontier under their agreement with the French, but the few guards are unable to prevent constant crossings. Captain Fontaine, of the French border patrol in Perpignan, assured me the region was quiet, but an informant from the French army intelligence remarked that 600 *guerrilleros* encamped on Mont Luis had gradually dwindled to none and that they must have crossed the border. Old French army elements are worried by these incidents, but the *guerrilleros* on the French side claim they are strictly adhering to the no-crossing rule. However, they unofficially admit constant patrol activities and contact with the *maquis* inside Spain. Fifteen deserters from Franco's army are picked up on an average each week in the Perpignan area by the French and are usually imprisoned as possible spies. Some are released later and permitted to join the *guerrilleros.*

In one camp that I visited I interviewed a Spanish schoolteacher who had crossed the border during the week. He declared there was an acute bread shortage in Huelva, where the black-market price of bread was six pesetas a kilo (over two pounds), while a worker's daily wage was only eight pesetas. Franco's army was feeling the bread shortage, and many soldiers were deserting to the *maquis,* he said. The teacher had taken part in several typical assaults made by groups of five who attacked Civil Guards on roads in Sierra de Cordova; he said hundreds of such incidents were occurring throughout Spain.

The *guerrilleros* assert that a forty-kilometer-square section of the Val d'Aran has been liberated. Recently they freed prisoners in Huesca in a raid and claim to have held Lerida and Ponferrada temporarily. News emerges through couriers sometimes days and sometimes weeks after an event, but there are daily broadcasts by the clandestine Radio España Independiente. There is also a chain of clandestine newspapers mimeographed on letter-size paper, called *Reconquista de España.*

The *guerrilleros* admit they will cross the border when the time comes—not to clash head on with superior forces but into corridors made by the *maquis* there. They desire, for the sake of Spain's moral pride, to overthrow Franco before the fall of Hitler. In this mountain outpost, amid a handful of zealous fighters, Commandant García proclaims that though Spain was the first to fight fascism it may be the last to regain its liberty, but it will do it on its own.

Pont du Roi, Spanish-French border, October 30

Four hundred of Franco's soldiers have been killed in a new and violent frontal attack against the *guerrilleros* in the Val d'Aran. The *guerrilleros,* with eighty wounded, were forced to withdraw one kilometer from Viela, the principal village in the valley.

Six thousand Franquist soldiers under the command of General Moscardo, who gained fame in the battle of the Alcazar in Toledo during the civil war, fought against a thousand *guerrilleros* commanded by General Blasques, who once forced Moscardo to retreat during the civil war. Moscardo followed the same tactics as in the fighting at the Alcazar, using civilians as shields for his men and hiding snipers in houses which the *guerrilleros* hesitated to attack. The Franquists had some artillery support but did not use tanks or airplanes. The *guerrilleros* had eight captured German cannon. Some Germans were found among the Franquist dead.

Reinforcements and supplies are a difficult problem for the Franquists, since the only road from Spain to this part of the country is under the control of the *guerrilleros* and will soon be closed by snow. In winter the valley is a blind alley opening only into France, and it is evident that the *guerrilleros* hope to establish a base there from which to

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launch an attack on Spain. The efforts of the *guerrilleros* to infiltrate over the border near Bourg-Madame in France, as they did at Val d'Aran, have so far failed.

Paris, October 31

I have just returned from the Spanish-French border, where the *guerrilleros* fighting in the Val d'Aran are being torn by Franquist explosive bullets and where others on the French side of the line shiver in the Pyrenees snow, impatient for the right to join the battle in Spain. Strung out along the border, twenty to thirty kilometers from Spain, are four *guerrillero* divisions, scattered by brigades in about twenty mountain towns between Perpignan and Biarritz. These divisions are not of the ordinary size but contain about 1,500 men each. Thus less than 10,000 men face the more than 200,000 troops that General Franco hustled to the border when *guerrilleros* began crossing into Spain.

French civilians along the border remark that there are only officers among the *guerrilleros*. The fact is that the troops are the residue of eight years of battle, and every survivor deserves a position of leadership. All have been wounded or have experienced the severest rigors of malnutrition and exposure. They are the bravest of the anti-fascist forces, and some of the most bitter experiences of our time have given them incredible fortitude.

Everywhere you meet men like Jose García, a gaunt twenty-five-year-old from Saint Gaudens who at seventeen joined the Republican army and became a bomber pilot. Practically the sole survivor of his tiny squadron, he afterward lived for months in a sand-hole concentration camp in France where the death rate was as high as 10 per cent. Then he was forced to work in a sulphur mine at thirty francs a month in a Vichy French labor battalion. Finally he got into the *maquis*. Now, with a bad heart preventing him from flying and his physique undermined by years of hardship, he is still trying to fight in Spain. His right name is not García, but most of these men have all but forgotten their names through disuse, as they have forgotten what normal life can be like. Youngsters like García—they all use the name—have never had a normal life.

Some 30,000 Republicans are prisoners in Germany, having joined the French army at the beginning of the war. A few who escaped, like Commandant Luis los Arcos, of the Toulouse staff, came right back to enter the fight. Perhaps 50,000 are scattered through France, some with General Leclerc's division and others on the various fronts, including the Spanish-French border. I saw a group of fifteen at the Montrejou railway station just arrived from the Brest and Lorient battles. Dressed in a strange mixture of American and British army clothes, they were strong-faced, even gay, and utterly realistic. Perhaps 5 per cent of the *guerrilleros* in France are descended from Spanish agricultural workers who have lived in France for a generation.

All that the *guerrilleros* ask is to get their country back for the Spanish people. One of the countless fighters who are waiting in isolated mountain villages in France said to me, "On the radio I hear the Allies always talking of liberty and democracy for all nations, and I want to smash the radio. Do they mean all nations except us?"

I could not answer him.

The Chinese Impasse

BY PACIFICUS

IF DONALD NELSON'S impending trip to Chungking, his second in three months, achieves its purpose in any great degree, it will rank as one of the most important missions in Far Eastern history. Even if it fails it will be recorded as a farsighted attempt on the President's part to solve China's politico-economic impasse and bring about a stable Pacific peace through a strong, progressive China.

When Mr. Nelson and General Hurley went to Chungking in September, Sino-American relations had reached a low level, manifest particularly in the animosity existing between Chiang Kai-shek and General Stilwell. Vinegar Joe's single-minded interest in effective warfare against the Japanese ran afoul of Chungking's vested political and economic interests. Stilwell's desire to train and command Chinese troops was thought to threaten Chiang's precarious balance of power, for in China power is derived fundamentally from control of the troops. And his attempts to establish liaison with the Communist headquarters in Yenan and to get Chiang to stop fighting the Communists and to concentrate on fighting the Japanese were regarded as lessening the ability of the Kuomintang to suppress the Communists and to dominate post-war China. Under these conditions it was clear that a new approach was required. Chiang could not be expected to reach a fundamental solution of current problems while his power was based on a semi-feudal coalition of war lords, authoritarian party bosses, and the landlord-speculator-usurer class.

Mr. Nelson flew to Chungking to convey personally to the Generalissimo the following significant message: The White House is anxious to see China emerge as the prime power in Asia and to see Chiang Kai-shek the leader of this new strong China. Furthermore, the American government is prepared to make every effort to bring this about by modernizing China's industrial plant both in the immediate future, as a means of improving the Chinese military potential, and after the war, as a means of assisting China to replace Japan as the leading industrial power in East Asia, and thus of preventing Japan's military comeback.

Mr. Nelson made it clear that there was a rather large condition attached to this offer. Chiang would first have to engage in an extensive domestic "house-cleaning" to remove the obstacles to industrialization. Nelson documented this point by reporting the results of a survey he had made of the industries in and around Chungking. He had found them producing at only from 30 to 70 per cent of their actual capacity, despite Free China's crying need for military and essential consumers' products. Their inefficiency was traced to nepotism, bureaucratic corruption, conflict between various factions of the Kuomintang, and a lack of interest in industrial production due to the much greater profits to be realized from speculation.

After Mr. Nelson finished his scathing analysis of Free China's present setup, he pointed out that the American government would not find it worth while to undertake the tremendously difficult task of building up China's industries while existing plants were not efficiently utilized. And

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he added that if these conditions persisted into the post-war period it would be difficult to interest either the American government or American business in China's industrialization. The Generalissimo expressed amazement at Mr. Nelson's report on Chungking's industries and countered by offering him the position of chief of a Chinese War Production Board. Mr. Nelson is now going back to organize such a board and to get it running smoothly.

As a corollary to Nelson's suggested economic reorganization, Hurley recommended a military renovation involving the removal of dead wood in the Chungking leadership and joint operations with the Communists, under generals the latter would trust.

It is incorrect to assume, as some have, that the President's plan to strengthen Chiang in China and China in Asia is antagonistic to either the Soviet Union or the Chinese Communists. Both Mr. Nelson and Vice-President Wallace, who visited Chungking last June, had as one of their objectives the improvement of relations between China and Russia. When Mr. Wallace reached Chungking after his visit to Soviet Siberia, he suggested to the Generalissimo that the removal of General Sheng Shih-tsai as governor of Sinkiang would be a substantial contribution to Sino-Soviet friendship, since the Soviets consider Sheng the instigator of the border incidents of December, 1943. The Generalissimo accepted Sheng's "resignation" two months later.

Mr. Nelson also went to Chungking by way of the Soviet Union. He stopped off in Moscow and explained the purpose of his trip to Foreign Minister Molotov, who assured him that Russia desired to see a strong and friendly China. Molotov disclosed that the reduction of Russian supplies sent by the overland route to China was due not to the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact but to heavy Soviet war needs and the feeling on the part of the government that a substantial part of the supplies delivered was being used not against the Japanese but to strengthen the Chungking forces blockading the Communist-led guerrilla forces in North China. The implication was clear that if Chungking's military efforts were directed solely against the Japanese, Russia's aid, as its own demands decreased, would again become substantial. This would bring Soviet policy into line with our effort to achieve anti-Japanese unity in China.

It is interesting and important to note that President Roosevelt, like many others who have followed Far Eastern developments, feels that the followers of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh are more like agrarian democrats than doctrinaire Communists and has given continuing attention to their activities. His interest led to a slight clash with Madam Chiang Kai-shek at a White House dinner during her visit early in 1943. Mr. Roosevelt asked her about the activities of the Communists in the guerrilla regions. She replied with a long and vitriolic harangue on alleged Communist misdeeds. When she had finished, the President cross-questioned her. He was well primed because he had just read a comprehensive report made up of the accounts of a group of Allied citizens who had escaped from Peiping through guerrilla territory just after December 7, 1941. The accounts included those of Guy Martell Hall of the Peiping branch of the National City Bank, Professor William Band, and others. All agreed that the Communist-led regime was efficient and putting up a good fight against the Japanese. They reported that the Communists were limiting themselves to one-third of the seats in the democratically elected councils, encouraging capitalism, and dividing the lands only of those landlords who had gone over to the Japanese. Madam Chiang expressed amazement at the President's store of information and said many of these developments were news to her.

The President's information has been amplified and his position reinforced by the reports of the press and military missions which Chiang finally permitted to visit Yenan last summer. The newspapermen collected extensive evidence on conditions in the guerrilla regions, some of which has appeared in the papers but most of which has reached this country via diplomatic pouch. The military mission has been given access to all military plans and intelligence, and its head has become convinced that Yenan's 470,000 regular troops and 2,200,000 partisans are the best-organized and best-led troops in China and would be a tremendously effective force if they could be supplied with a moderate number of mortars, "bazookas," and field guns.

The dynamic young State Department expert on China, John Service, who as a member of Stillwell's staff accompanied the military mission, had an interesting interview recently with General Mao Tse-tung, leading Chinese Communist. Mao thanked Service for his unprejudiced approach to Chinese controversies, as evidenced by his endeavor to learn the Communist point of view from General Chou En-lai in Chungking. Mao declared that he would be very happy to have the United States establish a consulate in Yenan; American observers could then get their information first hand, and with an American observer on the spot he felt that Chungking would not dare precipitate civil war.

Washington observers believe, however, that the President's proposal to Chiang is the basic solution for the problem of Chinese unity. The "house-cleaning" which General Chiang would have to carry out would mean sloughing off a considerable portion of his supporters in the right wing of the Kuomintang. This clique derives its power from the feudal-minded landed gentry and old-time war lords, who are chiefly interested in preserving China's oppressive agrarian system and political dictatorship. They and their spokesmen in the government are opposed to both political democracy and industrial progress, which form the common ground on which the Communists and Kuomintang can meet.

The decisive question, therefore, is whether Chiang will challenge these intrenched forces of reaction. Chiang is acknowledged as China's leader by every political and economic group in China. If he is not a prisoner of his reactionary supporters and his emotional anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, as he is often accused of being, the President's offer has opened a great new future. But only by acceding to the overwhelming demand from every part of China for a democratic system, a coalition government, and a joint Kuomintang-Communist military command can Chiang overcome the forces of reaction that bar China's march toward its rightful place in Asia.

General Stilwell's recall may be a minor concession to Chiang made to achieve the major objective. Let us hope that Donald Nelson's return to China will bring the desired results.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

FRIENDS DROPPED IN on Sunday, and we talked of many things. Including our common dislike of Sunday. The day oppresses me. I've tried many devices in the attempt to forget that Sunday is Sunday and to get the pleasure, in working or loafing, that I get out of any other day of the week that happens to be a holiday. But I'm seldom able to throw off the incubus. I had thought my feeling was subjective, and no doubt it is, but I've found many fellow-sufferers. One of them was Stendhal, who complains about it in his autobiography "The Life of Henri Brulard," which is, among other things, uncanny for its expression of attitudes and feelings that the reader, this reader at least, had assumed to be, if not subjective, at least intensely contemporary. "I take a ticket in the lottery," he himself said, "the grand prize of which may be summed up as—to be read in 1935." He won. His comment on Sunday has a modern tone. But the day must have been objectively dreary in his time. After all, it is not so long ago that innocent people all over the Christian world were constrained to sit immobile in Sunday houses, reading the Bible or the Prayer Book, counting their sins, and contemplating hell. Perhaps it is the accumulated guilt and muscle ache of all those past Sundays that weigh me down—and of course we have our secular Bible, the mass of pulp known as the Sunday paper, which few have the strength to ignore and which is filled these days with descriptions of hell on earth.

THE SUNDAY PAPER must be a trial, too, to the writers who have to fill all those sections, apart from the news pages. I'm thinking particularly of the drama reviewers who have to provide a column of second thoughts on the play of the week, whether it's worth a second thought or not. The latest one I've read was Howard Barnes's Sunday piece, in the *Herald Tribune,* on "I Remember Mama," Broadway's new addition to the Family Album which began with Clarence Day's father and is to be continued apparently even unto the third generation. (The thing is infectious. For instance, I find myself thinking in Broadway terms of a hired girl of ours. She took singing lessons.) Mr. Barnes was reduced to a seesaw of praise and reservation that became a burlesque by the end of the fifth paragraph. After that he turned with obvious relief to the production and the acting.

In a typical sentence Mr. Barnes observed: "There is little point in aesthetic quibbling when an offering of rich dramatic incident, emotional warmth, and honesty comes along." I don't see why, and I suspect that a little aesthetic quibbling would have proved far more interesting, to the writer as well as to the reader, than the column I read.

Mr. Barnes quoted with warm approval the exchange between Mama and her daughter about being rich. Mama, when she is asked if she would like to be rich, answers, "I would like to be rich as I would like to be ten feet high—would be good for some things, bad for others." It's a nice reply, and bound to be popular with Americans, who in general would like to be rich. Perversely, I was reminded of the aphorism uttered, I think, by Logan Pearsall Smith, to the effect that there are a few situations in which the possession of money would not be an ameliorating circumstance, but very few.

GARET GARRETT has got out a booklet called "The Revolution Was." He means the New Deal of course. His list of contents outlines, in terms of Problems, the stealthy giant steps by which the cynical New Deal brought about "an American Welfare State, with status in place of freedom": Problem One, To Capture the Seat of Government; Problem Two, To Seize Economic Power; Problem Three, To Mobilize by Propaganda the Forces of Hatred; and so on. It's really alarming as Mr. Garrett presents it. Needless to say, he is sad as he records the complete overturn of our traditional form of government. For my part, I'm very sorry I missed it.

I SPENT AN HOUR reading "Middle East Diary" (Doubleday, Doran, $2), the log of Noel Coward which he kept during his trip to Bagdad and back. He worked very hard entertaining the troops in desert camps and hospitals. He was himself entertained by all the important people in his path. Half the time his little book reads like an intimate society column, and sometimes it gets choked up with names and titles. But his picture of war-time sybaritic Cairo is the more vivid for being presented in those terms. So are the very brief glimpses he gives us into Algiers society, De Gaullist and Giraudist. I was fascinated as I always am by the imperial provincialism of the Britisher. Like Bob Hope, Noel Coward never left home, but home was never like this to Bob Hope.

Warriors' Return

THE VETERAN COMES BACK. By Willard Waller. The Dryden Press. $2.75.

WHEN JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME. By Dixon Wecter. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

LIKE worried proctors straightening the Alumni Hall for a class reunion, the sociologists and historians have begun to prepare for the returning service men. The question is how to arrange the furniture. Is the party going to be rough? Will the boys have changed much? And who should break it to them about the mortgage on the old place? Mixed with the uneasy bustling is a terrified cordiality.

Because they so perfectly exemplify the tons of "veteran" literature now being turned out, these two books, which have received undiscriminating critical praises—and prizes—are worth a little consideration. Mr. Waller's plodding, long-

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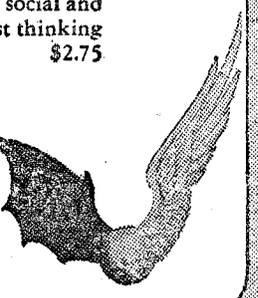

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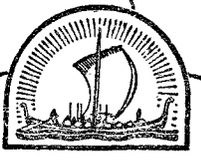

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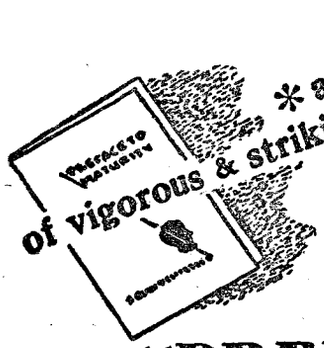

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drawn-out, interminably repetitious tract uses the stultified trade language of the sociologist: "Our war with the Japanese is replete with horrors, from which the ingredient of cruelty is not absent." Devoted to the promulgation of a new mystique of the veteran, it traces a recurrent historical type, descending all the way to present ex-G. I.'s from Uriah the Hittite—who was never actually mustered out but who, if he had lived, Mr. Waller states, would have created a major veteran problem for his wife's lover, David. It is this concept of the eternal veteran which enables the author to select indiscriminately the illustrative material for his discussion from so many wars, in so many times and places. The veteran is simply an archetype that, with certain variations, persists throughout history. When the author finally relinquishes this notion, at a point seven-eighths of the way through his book, it is only in exchange for the social worker's rule of thumb that individual men differ and must accordingly receive different treatment. Then follows a series of well-intentioned nostrums directed to sub-types within the general veteran type. Finally, the road to an ultimate solution is indicated: the foundation of a new science of "veteranology" (Mr. Waller's word), whose merchants of wisdom, as in a New Atlantis, shall constantly go forth to acquaint the populace with the latest findings of "veteranologists."

Any rough category of lives—"veteran," "craftsman," "lover," "midget"—implies that certain experiences are shared in common by all the lives, however distant in time or space, which belong to that category. Mr. Waller's study is little else than a catalogue of those abstract least-common-denominator characteristics which formally relate the veteran of today to veterans of other times and places. Such characteristics include, for example, sexual escape, a changed conception of money, rebellion and boredom, intoxication, and an ethic of killing. What is fatally missing from these generalities is the multitude of subtle differences which distinguish the ex-G. I. of World War II, in his experience of even such traditional veteran attitudes, from his contemporaries in other countries and his veteran predecessors in other wars, including World War I. For the ex-G. I. has, after all, his own place in the history of thought and the development of feeling; he is living in a specific time and amid the vast technological apparatus of a new kind of war. The unique aspects of this war's veterans are not fully appreciated in Mr. Waller's inquiry because his almost universal approach precludes the kind of questions arising solely from here and now.

To raise such questions is the aim of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," Mr. Wecter's meandering survey of American demobilization after three major wars. Despite its see-here-do-we-propose-to-let-this-happen-again tone, the book has only the superficial pugnacity of a chin uptilted for shaving. Reviews of the Revolution and the Civil War, in this context, yield small profit. The soldiers of those earlier wars were cast adrift when American industrial expansion and the development of the national economy were far less advanced than now, and when the existence of new lands to the west provided a safety valve for veteran discontent. From an attentive study of the First World War, however, because it is so much closer to us, several interesting conclusions might have been drawn. They were not drawn here. Prepared

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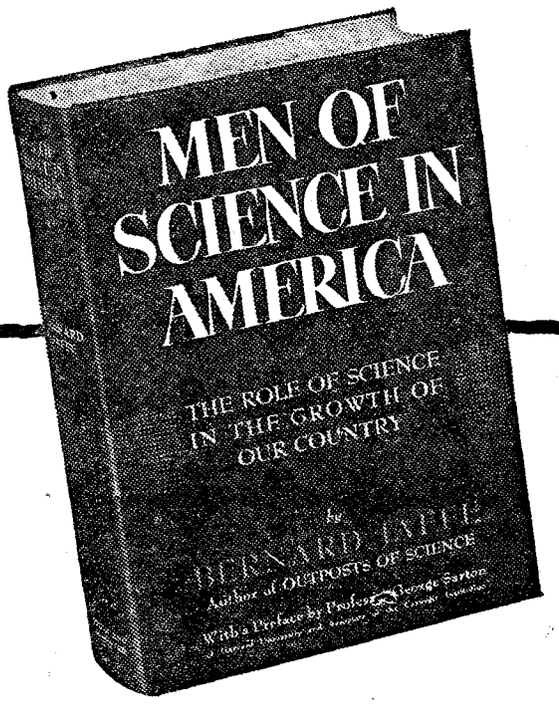
under a Guggenheim Fellowship and including everything but the menus and hotel bills accumulated during the period of tenure, Mr. Wecter's book is a new contribution to the great American soap-opera, strung together without design and whipped into a lather of immediacy by a style that is academically derivative from *Time's* and, like *Time's*, frantic with a vividness having nothing to do with life ("the gods that live in machines"). The author's assertion that Charles Beard's early books on World War I, "to the delight of fascists overseas, served to confuse American opinion" will at the same time explain his bias and remove any need for examining his own exercise in historical china painting. In his very safe account of the American Legion Mr. Wecter, like Mr. Waller, walks on bottles, and it is pleasant to report a crash. "Henceforth, in later conventions, their [the American Legion's] once good friend, Congressman Fish, would take their punishment even more squarely on the chin." History has an awkward habit of jibing with itself, and the American Legion convention held last month nullified a resolution, adopted the previous year, in which Mr. Fish had been mildly condemned for carelessness in the use of his franking privilege.

From interviews, diaries, and letters—for the most part of an unrepresentative degree of literacy and self-consciousness—Mr. Wecter evolves a most astonishing and unrecognizable composite of the veterans of this war. They have been sent into battle by fathers who, as veterans of the First World War, "accept it as a nasty but necessary job—so long as aggressive evil stalked the world." Their young leadership "believed coolly—as France's, for example, had not—that their country held something valuable enough to be paid for by death." Not volunteering, their "average fellow has quietly bided his time until needed." Like Mr. Wecter himself, "knowing that no war ever ends war but only purchases another chance for men of good-will," they fear most of all, not death, but the "sophisticates and debunkers" after the war. The latter, according to Mr. Wecter, had much to do with the disillusionment last time.

In his final section Mr. Wecter's sense of responsibility as a historian deserts him altogether, and he seems to content himself with a carelessly enthusiastic rewrite of official materials. If this is a chronicle of the Second World War, Mr. Wecter has good personal reason to dread the work of the "sophisticates and debunkers." Directives and interpretations, laws and amendments, shift from day to day in veteran affairs. Minor errors are inevitable. For example, the subsistence pay for veterans who are in retraining is $92, not $80. More reprehensible is the misinterpretation of the educational benefits in the G. I. Bill of Rights.

Again, the Veterans' Administration has not made clear how it is administering the G. I. bill in cases involving blue discharges—those neither honorable nor dishonorable—but Mr. Wecter does not hesitate: these are not to be barred from its benefits. (Present indications are that some will be barred and some will not.) On the subject of the loans provided by the bill, Mr. Wecter is again far too encouraging. First of all, if the money is borrowed from private sources, only half will be insured by the government up to insurance of $2,000. The 4 per cent interest limitation will make some money lenders unwilling, and refusals may



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also be anticipated for the setting up of little businesses on the basis of the comparatively high rate of failure of small individual enterprise. It will be possible to borrow from certain unspecified government agencies, but just how they can be brought into the picture will be another determining factor.

From Mr. Wecter's misleading discussion the reader might conclude that General Hines was whole-heartedly implementing the Presidential order to supervise the reemployment of veterans and demobilized war workers. In fact, Hines's Order I, issued on May 17, disregarded the imperative and provided only for veterans' referral centers, which, as now being set up throughout the country, will result in the segregation of veteran from war worker.

It is best to hasten on to the moral lesson which Mr. Wecter has extracted from his labor and which all but overpowered the editors of *Time* and *Life:* an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

To anyone actively engaged in the problems of veteran rehabilitation, what proves most baffling and in the end exasperating is the realm of public-spirited anonymity in which such researches as those of Mr. Wecter and Mr. Waller take place. Lands to the west, America's traditional solution for the veteran question, there are no more, but Mr. Roosevelt has already elaborated the possibilities of Alaska. Full employment is no longer predicted, but the proposal for post-war military conscription is advanced amid ill-concealed enthusiasm on all sides for the burden of unemployment that will be lifted thereby. Veterans must not be set apart, but the Veterans' Personnel Division expounds an interpretation of the Selective Service Act which directs the firing of any worker, even with greater seniority, to make way for the veteran with his "super-seniority." (Victor Reuther, of the largest labor union in the world, raises his voice to protest that this surely was never the original intent of Congress, but Senator Truman, a vice-presidential candidate as this is written, declares, as one who helped frame the act, that this was exactly the intent of Congress. Governor Bricker, likewise a vice-presidential candidate, a bit hazy on the issues but aware of the political potential, sounds out in favor of jobs for veterans. And meanwhile the time bomb of this ruling goes on ticking in broad daylight.) A bill which would ease somewhat the complicated post-war adjustments for veteran and worker is quietly strangled in Congress. General Motors, on the day immediately following D-Day, inspires a story to the effect that a union has asked the corporation to discharge five ex-service men because they failed to comply with the maintenance-of-membership clause of the collective agreement. Bell Aircraft hires fifty veterans before a lay-off, then fires them, explaining that the company has found it necessary to dismiss the veterans before all other employees. Meanwhile in the veterans' referral centers a savage tooth-and-nail struggle goes on among conflicting power interests for decisive control.

We are very far indeed from Mr. Wecter's and Mr. Waller's civic-minded parlor games, and our new veterans, in no danger of disillusionment because, from the experience of their lifetime, they arrive upon the scene "preshrunk," are in a fair way to become America's latest crop of displaced persons.

EDWARD M. MAISEL

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Concerning Cartels

IN ONE ADVERTISEMENT a bespectacled young man in a white coat is staring fixedly at a test tube. The copy that goes with the ad is lyrical in its praise of the research conducted for the public good by private concerns. In another advertisement a group of well-fed gentlemen are poring over a chart of production figures. The copy for this tells how gallantly free enterprise is carrying on in these parlous times. If it so happens that the fine fellows in the advertisements are employed by the cartel that monopolizes the production and distribution of Vitamin D, "the sunshine vitamin," used chiefly as a protection against rickets in poor people, the young man with the test tube may very well be searching for a slick way to reduce the potency of the product while the fine fellows at the directors' table are figuring out some way of jacking up its price.

When Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, who had gone cartel busting in a big way, was kicked upstairs, young Wendell Berge took his place and a lot of business men breathed sighs of relief. They breathed too soon as things turned out, for Berge, like his distinguished predecessor, can smell out a violation of the anti-trust law in any part of the country, and from vitamins to synthetic hormones, titanium, quebracho extract, optical instruments —a long list of essential products both for military and civilian use—he finds cartels at work against the interests of all of us, often to the point of pure treason. The fundamental idea of the cartel—the international exchange of research findings and ideas, the stabilization of markets, and the rest—is of course all to the good, provided the cartel is under public control. But Mr. Berge's fascinating descriptions in his book "Cartels" (Public Affairs Press, $3.25) of the actuality of the cartel as it currently functions for the sole purpose of private profit is enough to make your blood boil, and if you have any hairs left after reading the descriptions of big-business shenanigans these many weary years, prepare to upend them again when you read this book. Jammed with facts and figures as it is, "Cartels" is written in a lively, fighting style. More power to Wendell Berge, and a host of readers for his book.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Charles Péguy

THE FORTNIGHTLY NOTEBOOKS, which form the life work of Charles Péguy, are rambling and uneven in quality. To pick out apophthegms and purple patches as Anne and Julian Green have done in "Basic Verities" and now again in "Men and Saints" (Pantheon Books, $2.75) is perhaps to distort and certainly to flatter Péguy, but it is the only way to get him widely read. The new selection exacts no radical reconsideration of the author, but after reading both volumes the reader is in a better position to see Péguy's limitations. The portrait of Jean Jaurès, one of the chief exhibits of the new volume, is masterly, but it reveals even more of the artist than of the sitter. The ac-

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count of the Dreyfus case is thrilling, but it is far from being an acute analysis of the affair. Péguy advertises glowingly "that marvelous unity true of all ancient societies" and denounces the disunity of the modern world roundly enough, but for a European this is no unusual achievement. The poet's fine French brew of nationalism, individualistic catholicism, and a socialism which sanctifies poverty is of human historical, and clinical but hardly of political or philosophical interest.

Yet Péguy is a writer of the first rank, and we owe to Pantheon Books—which might better be called Vatican Books—a great debt for bringing him to us in this splendid double-text edition, whose beautiful format is hardly blemished even by war-time paper. Péguy is presented to us as one of the great seers—Carlyle, Heine, Nietzsche, and Stefan George were others—who foresaw the otherwise undreamed-of horrors of our time. Perhaps Mr. Green has overstressed this factor; and some will find his uncritical reverence for his master more a hindrance than a help. Péguy is greatest not as hero, saint, or even as a sage but as a highly subjective artist. The present volume is worth buying for the poem "La Nuit" alone.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

Planned Diversity

KARL MANNHEIM'S "Diagnosis of our Time" (Oxford, $3) is an important little volume which continues the argument of the author's "Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction." It is a much-needed corrective to the view, already growing fashionable, that a planned society necessarily must make for a dull, dread uniformity of thought and action. Mannheim recognizes, however, that in addition to devising specific administrative techniques to provide for diversity, a society that plans for freedom must *value* independent personality, critical judgment, and the "basic paridigmatic experiences" which give life a dramatic significance. At this point a whole series of ambiguities arise because Mannheim identifies "paradigmatic" experience with religious experience. On one reading, all he means is that a society must plan the conditions to encourage religious freedom, which is best done by a secular society, of which he seems critical. On another reading, he wants to make some type of "paridigmatic experience" a unifying force in society, which encounters the obvious difficulty that a Catholic, a Quaker, and a secular humanist do not share the same "basic view of life." Mannheim is hostile to any attempt to institutionalize religious experience. On still other readings, the "paradigmatic experience" can be identified either with a passion for democracy or with a reformed Christianity, or merely with a personal philosophy of life. The whole discussion exhibits a tantalizing vagueness which although suggestive seems to burke crucial issues.

In refreshing contrast to Mannheim's discussion of religion in a planned society is his treatment of education. Here his perceptions are rich and his judgments incisive. His general attitude may be conveyed by the following passages: "Neither democratic tolerance nor scientific objectivity demands that we should never take a stand for what we believe to be true, nor that we should avoid discussing the final values and objects of life." "If the modern teacher will think of himself not so much as a schoolmaster but as a life-master doing from another angle what the social worker does in his sphere, then he will be striving for all the knowledge available in this task. He will try to educate a generation of youth which combines emotional stability with a flexible mind; yet he will only succeed if he is capable of seeing each of the problems of the new generation against the background of a changing world."

SIDNEY HOOK

FICTION IN REVIEW

The Unstaggered Imagination

IT WOULD seem to me perfectly understandable if there were no novels at all about recent events in Europe, if writers were so humbled or emotionally paralyzed by what it means to fight a dominant fascism that they completely avoided the subject. But evidently there is no reality too big for the truly unimaginative. Novel after novel dares to cope, as if it were all in the day's work, with material that one would suppose could be touched—and then only touched—by only the greatest talent, working at a certain historical distance. There is no end to the books that, on the basis only of good-will or anger, put themselves forward as true or at least adequate re-creations of the anti-Nazi struggle either within Germany itself or in the conquered countries.

I find it hard to say which of the schools of anti-Nazi fiction is most distasteful. There is the frankly blood-letting school, whose curriculum of beatings and tortures is as well established as its curriculum of heroism. At the other pole there is the school of liberty-loving idyll-ism, which though subtler is almost equally distressing: these are the novels which weave a rainbow of poetry about the resistance to German domination of a small country or "small" people. Between these two extremes stretches the whole long train of vehicles for comfortable ideals and vicarious courage, for unconscious cruelty and conscious political virtue.

This week I have read two anti-Nazi novels—Lord Dunsany's "Guerrilla" (Bobbs-Merrill, $2.50) and Albert Maltz's "The Cross and the Arrow" (Little, Brown, $2.75). Although each of them conforms to an established pattern, neither is as excessive of its kind as some novels I could name, and I don't mean the brunt of my general remarks to be borne fully and only by these two examples. I recognize that by this time each new anti-Nazi novel that comes my way is likely to be held accountable not only for its own faults but for the faults of all its predecessors.

Probably there was no reason for me to have expected better than I got from a new Dunsany book. "Guerrilla" is thin, abstract, allegorical, poetical. We can guess that it is about Greece, but Dunsany calls his oppressed country The Land. When the Germans come to The Land, the People take to the Mountain to fight for Freedom. I find such abstraction of reality an offense against taste, just as I find Lord Dunsany's abstractions of human feeling a profanation of the genius of the novel. There is a young hero named Srebnitz, and Dunsany writes: "Whenever Srebnitz smiled he was thinking of his rifle that he was going to get and

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take away to the Mountain. The Mountain and its bright freedom, and the free men whom he would meet there, filled his mind as flowers are filled with sunlight." This false poeticism is the idiom of thought of a young boy a couple of pages after his mother and father have been murdered almost before his eyes! But in the measure that Dunsany is unengaged by human beings, he is engaged by special boyish knowledge: he can be most pedagogically concrete about how to light fires, hide behind bushes, and outmaneuver the enemy. "Guerrilla" is a perfect boy-scout guide to the joys of outdoor living and dying.

Quite another manner of effort—a very much better one, if we must grade them—is Albert Maltz's "The Cross and the Arrow," a novel set within Germany and concerned with the breakable link in the chain that thinks itself so strong. A certain Wegler, of hitherto sound Nazi record, suddenly lights a fire to guide English fliers to a hidden German factory. With the aid of a section of flashback, act two of a three-act novel, Mr. Maltz unfolds his story during the interval between Wegler's big insurgent moment and his death: this way of conceiving a novel is not one that I particularly like, but it is a perfectly permissible way, depending for success on the author's ability to create quick excitement and handle character. But although "The Cross and the Arrow" is not without excitement, it is the kind of excitement that makes me feel used, as if I had been made to keep a deathwatch over someone with whom I had no vital connection. And Mr. Maltz's characters are either unconvincingly simple or unconvincingly complex.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IT WOULD be easy enough to prove by citing examples that Catholics on the one hand and Communists on the other are perfectly capable on occasion of writing novels or plays of non-sectarian appeal. But a "Communist play" may be more than merely a play written by a Communist, and a Catholic play may be more than merely a play written by a Catholic. When either the one or the other is this something more, then it is probably useless to urge upon even the professional critic his supposed duty to judge only in terms of an author's intention and his success in achieving it. It is sometimes easy enough to suspend one's disbelief in a premise provided one knows that the author has done no more and expects no more of us. But when belief rather than merely a suspension of disbelief is necessary, then the play in question is not a play by a Catholic, Communist, Christian Scientist, or what not; it is a "Catholic," "Communist," or "Christian Scientist" play, and as such it cannot fully succeed except with those who accept as valid the premise on which it rests.

"Embezzled Heaven," the Theater Guild's new offering now current at the National Theater, is in some respects the most interesting production of the season. It is, however, a Catholic play in the sense just defined. Whether or not the author, Franz Werfel, is now himself a professed member of the church I do not know, and the question is not really important. The play is Catholic in conception, and the extent to which it will succeed must, despite a generally good production and a fine performance by Ethel Barrymore, depend on the convictions of the spectator.

The most substantial part of the fable is hardly more than an anecdote. It concerns a pious peasant employed as cook who spends on the education of a nephew the earnings of a lifetime, only to discover in old age that this nephew is a fraud who not only left the seminary to which she had sent him without becoming a priest but has continued to bleed her for money to spend in dishonorable living. That anecdote might of course be told in any one of a dozen ways to make any one of a dozen points which one need only be a human being to find valid. Moreover, to proceed, as Werfel then does, to show her discovering in herself a flaw almost as serious as any she can find in her nephew, to show her, that is, coming to realize that she has really tried to buy her way into heaven through a protégé whom she never really loved, is still to adopt a line of development which can be followed sympathetically by any ethically minded person whether he be Catholic or creedless. But the last act leads us on to a conclusion emotionally and intellectually satisfactory only to those who can accept, as the heroine does, the claims of the Catholic church to a specific and exclusively effective method of assuring salvation. Fearing now that she will miss heaven through all the years she has loved herself, not her nephew, she goes with a group on a pilgrimage to Rome, and on her knees before the Pope she blurts out her story before she dies there, as the Pope assures her not only that she has redeemed herself by her genuine love for the parish priest who now has her in tow but also that he himself will remember her in his prayers. To the unbeliever at least it is hardly evident that her supposed new motives are very different from her old ones, and only a Catholic can feel that the Pope's intercession will actually open those doors which it has been the whole purpose of her life to have someone open for her.

Miss Barrymore is a very fine actress—indeed, a far finer one now, I think, than she was twenty years and more ago in the first heyday of her reputation, when she depended, as she no longer does, upon "personality" and "glamor." She plays the peasant heroine with restraint, dignity, and conviction. She makes her a believable, or almost believable, person and a pathetic figure as well. But even an acting triumph cannot give universal validity to a play so constructed that it has no point except a specifically Catholic one. And what Miss Barrymore is not able to accomplish none of the lavishly expended resources of the Guild can accomplish either. "Embezzled Heaven" has been given a fine cast, impressive as well as effective settings, and excellent direction. All these things together might have overcome a certain Teutonic stodginess which is the chief defect of writing in a play which, speaking generally, has substantial virtues so far as dialogue and characterization are concerned. But nothing can alter the fact that the whole can have no meaning to any spectator who cannot accept the fundamental premise almost as literally as the heroine herself accepts it. The entire last act is given up to a scene in the audience chamber of the Vatican. Everything has been done to give the scene theatrical effectiveness by means of imposing scenery and splendid pageantry. But theatrical effectiveness is not here sufficient. Either the Pope actually has in his possession the keys to heaven or he has not. And unless one believes that he does have them, the scene cannot be even dramatically effective.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

ALL credit is due Peggy Guggenheim for her enterprise in presenting young and unrecognized artists at her Art of This Century gallery. But even more to her credit is her acumen. Two of the abstract painters she has recently introduced—Jackson Pollock and William Baziotes—reveal more than promise: on the strength of their first one-man shows they have already placed themselves among the six or seven best young painters we possess.

Baziotes, whose show closed last month, is unadulterated talent, natural painter and all painter. He issues in a single jet, deflected by nothing extraneous to painting. Two or three of his larger oils may become masterpieces in several years, once they stop disturbing us by their nervousness, by their unexampled color—off-shades in the intervals between red and blue, red and yellow, yellow and green, all depth, involution, and glow—and by their very originality. Baziotes's gouaches had their own proper quality, which is the intensity of their whites and higher colors. But many of his pictures were marred by his anxiety to resolve them; the necessity of clinching a picture dramatically, also the sheer love of elaboration, led him to force his invention and inject too many new and uncoordinated elements into the coda, so to speak. This coda was usually found near the upper left-hand corner of the canvas, where *shapes* would first appear, while the remainder of the surface would have been dealt with in terms of the division and texture of *area,* and asked to be resolved according to the same logic. Baziotes will become an emphatically good painter when he forces himself to let his pictures "cook" untouched for months before finishing them. He already confronts us with big, substantial art, filled with the real emotion and the true sense of our time.

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Robert Motherwell's first one-man show, also at Art of This Century (through November 11), makes Miss Guggenheim's gallery almost too much of a good thing. Motherwell is a more finished but less intense painter than Baziotes, less upsetting because more traditional and easier to take. One is Dionysian and the other Apollonian. Motherwell's water-color drawings are of an astonishing felicity and that felicity is of an astonishing uniformity. But it owes too much to Picasso, pours too directly from post-cubism. Only in his large oils and collages does Motherwell really lay his cards down. There his constant quality is an ungainliness, an insecurity of placing and drawing, which I prefer to the gracefulness of his water colors because it is through this very awkwardness that Motherwell makes his specific contribution. The big smoky collage "Joy of Living"—which seems to me to hint at the joy of danger and terror, of the threats to living—is not half as achieved as the perfect and Picasso-ish "Jeune Fille," yet it points Motherwell's only direction: that is, the direction he must go to realize his talent—of which he has plenty. Only let him stop watching himself, let him stop thinking instead of painting himself through. Let him find his personal "subject matter" and forget about the order of the day. But he has already done enough to make it no exaggeration to say that the future of American painting depends on what he, Baziotes, Pollock, and only a comparatively few others do from now on.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THAT period in the twenties, when the talk was of jazz—meaning Whiteman and Gershwin—and its relation to American symphonic music, began, as I recall it, with Gilbert Seldes's article "Toujours Jazz," which appeared in the *Dial* in the summer of 1923 and became part of his book "The Seven Lively Arts." Until then my attention had been concentrated on Beethoven and Brahms; Seldes directed it to popular music. And there were some things in his article that I knew were wrong even before I listened to the music they referred to. Thus:

> It is syncopation which has so liberated jazz from normal polyphony, from perfect chords, that M. Darius Milhaud is led to expect from jazz a full use of polytonic and atonic harmonies; he notes that in "Kitten on the Keys" there exists already a chord of the perfect major and the perfect minor. The reason why syncopation lies behind all this is that it is fundamentally an anticipation or a suspension in one instrument (or in the bass) of what is going to happen in another (the treble); and the moment in which a note occurs prematurely or in retard is, frequently, a moment of discord on the strong beat.

Evident at once in this passage were the confusions—one crowding on the heels of the other—of mere language and statement, progression of thought, and hashed-up musical terms and facts. It was not certain what Seldes meant by perfect chords, and therefore by normal polyphony; actually it is normal for a melody or for a voice in a polyphonic texture to pass through tones which don't belong to the underlying chords. The process, moreover, doesn't of itself create any tendency for the melody to move out of the tonality of those chords; and the simultaneous occurrence of F major and minor in "Kitten on the Keys," I discovered, came about through the fact that the left hand started an ostinato figure containing a-flat, to which the right hand added an ostinato figure containing a-natural. From this and other passages in the article I could see that it was the product of a glib ignoramus who made verbal hubbub and confusion and sheer chaos of thought and style—with parenthetic interpolations slithering in all directions at once—into a critical method.

But one error—quite the most important in the article—I was not equipped to perceive at that time; and this was Seldes's statement that it was not the Negro orchestras but the white—and above all Whiteman's—who had achieved the complete exploitation of jazz. I had not heard the Negro orchestras; but even if I had it is probable that with my background I would have gone along with Seldes when he wrote: "All the free, the instinctive, the wild in Negro jazz which could be integrated into his music, [Whiteman] has kept; he has added to it, has worked his material, until it runs sweetly in his dynamo, without grinding or scraping. . . . He has arrived at one high point of jazz—the highest until new material in the music is provided for him." Nor did I know of anyone rising to object that the Negroes had produced jazz and Whiteman had changed it into something that "ran sweetly": all through the twenties the talk I heard continued to be about Gershwin's songs and Whiteman's performances; and I didn't hear as much as the names of Fletcher Henderson, Louis Armstrong, Earl Hines, and others until the early thirties.

That initial error led me into another. Seldes contended that syncopation had led jazz composers "to discoveries in rhythm and to a mastery of complications which one finds only in the great masters of serious music." The most complicated thing I heard—a few measures of a three-note or three-beat figure repeated in the treble against a four-beat bass, obviously not produced by syncopation—seemed to me to have been exceeded by the great masters of serious music; and often the figure received the accentuation of the bass, or the bass that of the figure; so that I got the impression of occasional irregularities in a pretty steadily maintained single meter. But I would not have got this impression from the performances, of the Negroes.

By 1932 I had begun to hear jazz and to acquire correct ideas of what it was like. And in 1939 my understanding was vastly increased by the distinction which Wilder Hobson made in the very first paragraph of his "American Jazz Music" between "what the players themselves call 'commercial' music, dance arrangements of popular tunes," and on the other hand music in the

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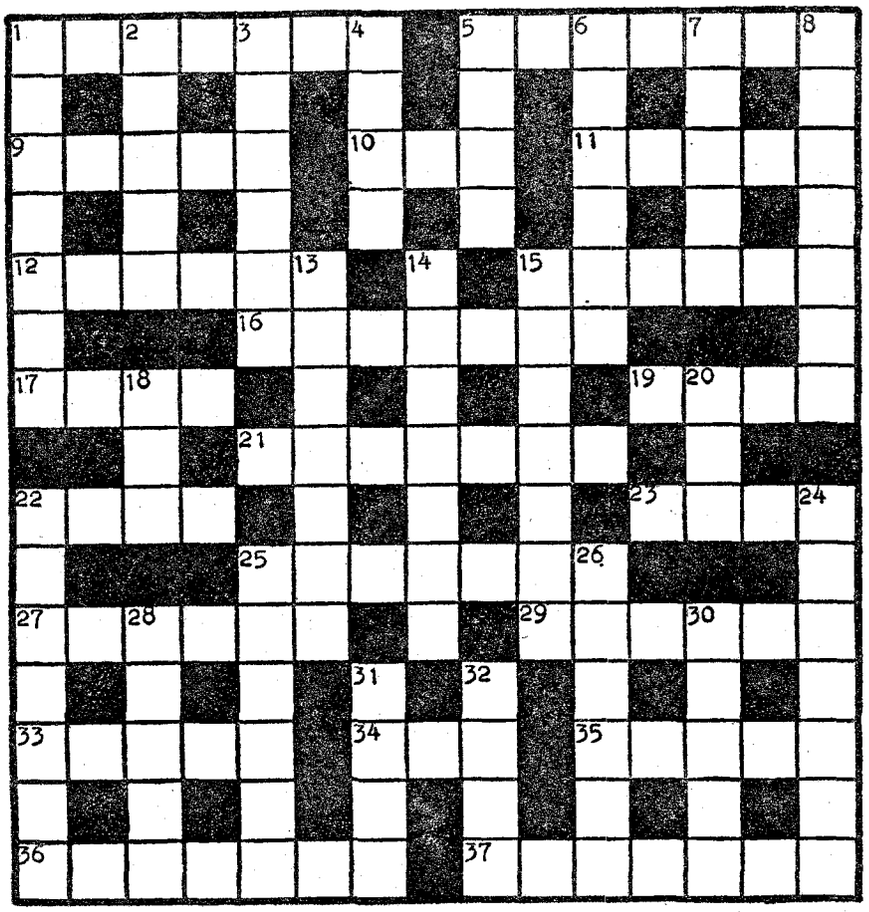
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 89

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The crew are apt to be a bit groggy after he has spliced the mainbrace
5 Beautiful stones of Czecho-Slovakia
9 "Beano" was known to old-timers as this
10 Small Scotch
11 Not in a position to speak with accuracy
12 Trace this crime back to discover the cause of it
15 Answer that moves A. Green to anger
16 Trying work, this
17 A Parthian shot
19 Good in the man, bad in the machine
21 Local yokelry
22 Source of nuts and wine
23 English queen. She's dead!
25 Name of more than one American hotel
27 "Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not - - - - - - - calumny" (Hamlet to Ophelia)
29 Tones down the music
33 When told that the crew was revolting, he answered, "Yes, aren't they?"
34 We appear to have nothing before us
35 Entomb—or cremate, perhaps
36 "Not body enough to cover his mind decently with; his intellect is improperly - - - - - - - " (Sidney Smith)
37 Scene of Mazeppa's wild ride

DOWN

1 A mule and a cat join in a pipe of peace
2 Family author
3 Married to Sir Scudamore in Spenser's *Faerie Queen*
4 Much of a muchness
5 Mirth in parts
6 The dictator's passion
7 Suitable name for Miss Heath?
8 Hint
13 Is it queer to pay back? Maybe
14 One of the laws of the land
15 Every 14 had to be this first
18 Lady bird
20 In France
22 "Indeed, I - - - - - - - for my country when I reflect that God is just" (Jefferson)
24 Commissions, but not in the armed forces
25 French-Algerian cavalrymen
26 French dramatic poet
28 Brittle form of scrip
30 A fleshy fruit begins to be fleshy
31 A bricklayer's carrier with nothing in it might protect the head.
32 Pins, colloquially

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 88

ACROSS:—1 BACARDI; 5 DUSTBIN; 9 STUCK-UP; 10 SKATERS; 11 ALOES; 12 AHA; 13 NITER; 14 DISTICH; 16 TRANSOM; 18 BLANKET; 21 CHESTER; 24 DEPTH; 26 RAW; 27 DEMUR; 28 GATHERS; 29 INVALID; 30 TRANSIT; 31 DOLORES.

DOWN:—1 BUSTARD; 2 COUPONS; 3 RAKES; 4 IMPEACH; 5 DISMAST; 6 SPAIN; 7 BREATHS; 8 NOSTRUM; 15 ILK; 17 ALE; 18 BEDIGHT; 19 ASPATIA; 20 TURNS IT; 21 COWBIRD; 22 TEMPLAR; 23 REREDOS; 25 HEELS; 27 DEVIL.

"natural musical language which American musicians, Negroes and whites, have been speaking now for more than a quarter-century"; and by his further observation that "all of the commercial forms borrow from [the natural language] to some extent" and "the same men often play both commercially and naturally." There had been, then, the stream of jazz, of spontaneous "hot" performance; and parallel with it, borrowing from it, watering it down, there had been the stream of "commercial" music of the succession of dance bands —"commercial" music in the "sweet" style of bands like Whiteman's or in the "swing" style of bands like Benny Goodman's.

But 1944 finds Seldes writing:

> The great trouble with modern (post-Whiteman and Gershwin) hot jazz is that the outsider (hick or amateur listener) can't follow it. Sometimes he thinks there's nothing to follow. First one character does his stuff. Then another. Until maybe nine men have hit terrific smashes into the bleachers. There are no runs or bases hit and no one sacrifices to bring a man home. In short it's not a team. . . . The outstanding (egregious) quality of Condon's band . . . is that the players play together. . . . What each man plays has to do with what the man before him played. And what they all play has to do with the composition they are playing and isn't a mere arabesque around a forgotten theme. If that's Chicago jazz, okay Chicago. If it's just Eddie Condon, okay Eddie.

It isn't surprising that Seldes's ignorance has advanced with the years. The amazing thing is to find it printed in the program of a jazz concert by Eddie Condon, who knows what Seldes doesn't know about "hot" jazz, both pre- and post-Whiteman, and who himself played in the little "hot" bands that in 1928 produced superbly integrated performances like the Miff Mole "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble."

CONTRIBUTORS

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